Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-231
Monday
2 December 1991

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President Alia Receives Kosovo's Adem Demaci

AU2911115391 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA) — On November 28, the day of the 79th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence, the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, received at his seat the outstanding intellectual from Kosovo, Adem Demaci, who has come to Albania at the invitation of the Forum for the Defence of Human Rights.

Mr. Adem Demaci wished the president of the republic, Ramiz Alia, happy festivities. I, he said, wish that every other festivity be a victory for Albania, for Albania to flourish and progress. It has the possibilities to become a country proud of itself, Adem Demaci said.

President Ramiz Alia voiced his satisfaction over his meeting with this patriot from Kosovo. Further on, the president spoke of the democratic processes in Albania. Their conversation focused on the Albanian question in the context of the present world developments and especially on the Albanians' situation in Kosovo and in other territories in Yugoslavia.

President Ramiz Alia greeted Mr. Adem Demaci for being accorded by the European parliament of the "Sakharov" prize, considering it as a sign of Europe's concern into the Albanian question as well as for Mr. Demaci's contribution.

Present at the reception, which passed in a fraternal atmosphere, was also the chairman of the Forum for the Defence of Human Rights, Prof. Arben Puto.

Kapllani Congratulates Demaci on Sakharov Prize

AU2711212691 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Letter from Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani to Adem Demaci, chairman of the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—I am very happy and overjoyed the European parliament honoured you awarding the Prize "Sakharov." This esteem appreciation has aroused a profound sentiment in you and all the other brothers and sister in Albania, who have been heart and soul close to you all these years.

You have already become a symbol of man who puts nothing above the freedom and great cause of the nation. Your life full of sacrifices, the 28 years you passed in jail, are a testimony to the unbent freedom-loving Albanian, symbol of the honest and manly attitude on behalf of most human ideals.

The appreciation of your deed by civilized Europe is a great appreciation for the whole Albanian nation, their noble aspirations they have defended with dignity in the face of medieval obscurantism of a regime who jailed scores of thousands of honest Albanians of Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia, who evicted from their hearths under the threat of bayonets thousands of other Albanians, that did not hesitate to poison the little children and close down schools for hundreds of thousands of children.

This appreciation is also an honour of Europe for Kosovo and the Albanians in Yugoslavia, who although in the conditions of savage oppression and repression, in a civilized way and exemplary tolerance, aim at realizing the national aspirations and human rights in the context of European democratic processes.

A message is sent to Adem Demaci on the occasion by a group of Albanian intellectuals, initiators for holding the Assembly for National Conciliation and Unity.

Bufi Discusses U.S. Visit, Early Elections

AU2711205791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Report by Sokol Perihati]

[Text] Prime Minister Ylli Bufi gave a news conference in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana this morning in connection with his recent visit to the United States and certain problems relating to the country's political and economic situation. Albanian and foreign journalists and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to our country attended.

Bufi first said that, at his meetings with representatives from the U.S. Senate and Government, he described the country's political and economic situation and the difficulties encountered during this period of changing these systems. According to the prime minister, the aim of these meetings was to win support for the economic reform and to attract investment from the Albanian-American community, in order to ensure that this reform proceeds smoothly.

Bufi said that at all his meetings he had heard appreciation for the process of democratization and economic reform undertaken by the government, and that representatives of the U.S. Senate and Government had shown political support.

Another topic of the talks was solving the conflict in Yugoslavia, especially the problem of Kosovo and stopping the genocide waged there by the Serbian chauvinists. Bufi said the report of the Italian news agency ANSA, claiming that he had sought U.S. military intervention to solve the Yugoslav conflict, was not accurate. We, Bufi continued, confine ourselves to the principle of a peaceful solution within international regulations and to the principle of self-determination. Such a report is therefore false.

During this visit an agreement was signed for the protection of private U.S. investments in Albania. The U.S.

Government also expressed its commitment to deliver the promised food aid on time and to supply agriculture assistance within the framework of the IMF. This is a plan worth about 50 million dollars for supplying chemical fertilizers, restructuring the Agricultural Bank, mechanizing agriculture, etc.

During the meetings, Bufi said that the remaining restrictions against Albania under the Jackson Amendment and the absence of bilateral agreements, especially in the field of trade, are now anomalous. The U.S. side took the same view, and promised that these restrictions against Albania will soon be lifted and that Albania will be granted most favored nation status. Businessmen also expressed their willingness to invest in Albania, especially in infrastructure, telecommunications, tourism, highways, railroads, oil, agriculture, etc.

Meetings with representatives of the United Nations, its chairman and deputy chairmen, and representatives of other UN bodies such as PNUD [UN Development Program], UNICEF, etc. were also successful. At these meetings, credit was promised for the beginning of next year for the purchase of raw materials in order to activate our moribund industry.

During the prime minister's meetings with Albanian-Americans, the latter appreciated the efforts made on the road toward democracy. However, the Albanian-Americans insisted on an acceleration of democratic processes. They took a prominent part in the meetings and welcomed the Law on Amnesty and Innocence recently approved by the People's Assembly. For his part, Bufi told them that, although the present government is not responsible for their persecution by the former regime, he once again asked for their forgiveness. They insisted on the removal of communist symbols from the national flag and the republic's coat of arms. Bufi emphasized that he agreed with them and that the government was of the same opinion.

The prime minister also told Albanian-Americans about the government's decision to abolish entry visas for Albanian-Americans visiting Albania.

As for the situation in the country, the prime minister said that one of the problems that has come to the fore is scheduling an earlier date for elections, holding these elections before the appointed time of May-June 1992. In this connection, the government has held many meetings with the various political parties. The opposition coalition composed of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and the Social Democratic Party insists that the only way to overcome the present crisis is to schedule the elections as soon as possible. It has been stressed at these meetings that the government and the Presidency of the People's Assembly also favor earlier elections, but take the view that they should be held at the beginning of spring. The government has presented its arguments for this, such as the need to secure food supplies; to stabilize the situation in the countryside; to complete the land distribution and privatization of the retail network, which should be concluded in the first quarter of 1992; to implement the Law on Enterprises; to liberalize prices and abolish of the 80 percent wage rule [wages paid to laid-off workers]; to conclude the bank and budget reform, whose completion is also planned by the end of the first quarter of 1992; to stabilize public order, etc.

The Democratic and Republican Parties hold the view that the elections should be held before the end of February 1992, using as arguments the need to solve the problem of radio and television, the Shkoder case, the investigation of the case of the blockmen [bllokmene, former Albanian Workers Party leaders], etc.

In his speech, Bufi also said that we are on the brink of a governmental crisis. There are also reports about the organization of a new exodus, destabilization in the country's main towns, etc. Nevertheless, the government will take the measures necessary to cope with the situation.

At the end of the news conference, reporters asked Bufi various questions.

Bufi Seeks Dismissal of Transport Minister, Others

AU3011204591 Tirana ATA in English 1900 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—On November 29, 1991, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Ylli Bufi, charged by the government, proposed the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia to dismiss from their posts Messr. Teodor Kareco, secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Bilincka, minister of transports and Alfred Karamuco, chairman of the State Control Commission, who on November 27 1991 addressed the Presidency of the Council of Ministers with a promemoria which was considered unacceptable by the government.

Republicans, Bufi Clash on Election Schedule

AU3011210291 Tirana ATA in English 1907 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—A statement of the Republican Party issued on November 29 says that on November 28, 1991, the Council of Ministers discussed on the promemoria of the group of the Republican ministers dated November 25, 1991 putting them before the alternative either of withdrawing the promemoria or their further presence in the government would become undesirable.

In the meeting convened by the government on November 29, 1991, which was attended by the representatives of five parties and the presidency of the People's Assembly, Mr. Sabri Godo, chairman of the Albanian Republican Party, put the question whether the decision of the government concerning the Republican ministers was still in force. He stated also that the main question to be decided upon is the time when the

elections will be held which to his opinion might be the end of February 1992. Prime Minister Ylli Bufi responded on behalf of the government that the Republican ministers should either withdraw the promemoria or be excluded from the government. With regard to the elections the prime minister reiterated the known version that they might be held only in spring. This stand regarding the elections was supported by the chairman of the People's Assembly, the Socialist Party and the Agrarian Party.

Mr. Godo stated that it was not possible to reach an agreement on the elections and owing to the fact that the further presence of the Republican ministers in the government was considered undesirable, the participation of this party in the meeting of this government was meaningless.

Mr. Godo called the government decision incorrect and beyond its competences, because the ministers are not appointed by the government. For the normal functioning of the government, Mr. Godo asked the Republican ministers to continue to be in their posts until their substitution and left the meeting.

The Steering Committee of the ARP, the statement says, fully approved the stand of the chairman of this party. The government's stand regarding the elections is not real. The Steering Committee, fully backs up the promemoria of the ministers and considers their action conform the high feeling of responsibility towards the people as ministers.The promemoria does not proceed from ill-willing aims as defined in the government meeting, but from the desire to put the government in the role dictated the time. [sentence as received] If this government does not undertake to hold untimely elections, while the country is going with each passing day towards an inevitable catastrophe, there remain the alternatives either to reorganise it or to replace it with a technical government which will take the country to free and quiet elections, the statement concludes.

Democratic Party Reaffirms 26 Nov Demands

AU0112203791 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 1 (ATA)—Regarding the meeting held by the government on November 29 before noon with the leaders of the political parties, members of the government, the Information Bureau of the Democratic Party [DP] is authorized to report as follows:

The chairman of the Democratic Party, Dr. Sali Berisha attended this meeting with the goodwill to contribute to the solution of political crisis. On behalf of the Democratic Party he welcomed the goodwill expressed by National Stability Government to bring nearer the date of elections approximately as required by the opposition and the lofty interests of the country. At the same time the Democratic Party abides to the end to the statement endorsed at the joint meeting of the deputies' group and the National Council of the DP.

The Information Bureau of the Democratic Party is authorized to declare that the Democratic Party will persist in these demands and the date December 3 fixed by the meeting of the DP.

At the same time it is reported that on Monday, on December 2, 1991, the deputies of the DP, members of Mass Media Commission of the People's Assembly, will take part in the proceedings of this commission whereby means of consensus there will be approved the composition of the Steering Council of the RTV [Radio-Television] and its leaders will be appointed from this council. The results of this meeting, the fulfilment of the fundamental demand for the discharge of Fatmir Kumbaro and other current RTV leaders, will determine whether the deputies of the Democratic Party will take part in adopting other laws of the parliament.

Candidates for Radio-TV Council Considered

AU2711204891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Report by Timo Luto]

[Text] Although a People's Assembly session was to be held at 1600 GMT today, the plenary session did not begin. The parliamentary groups met, and the Presidency met the leaders of the parliamentary groups to discuss the composition of the Radio-Television Managing Council.

Two whole weeks have now passed without the People's Assembly discussing or approving a single bill apart from that on the status of the radio and television. The People's Assembly Presidency, having received the approval of the parliamentary groups of the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party, and the Omonia Organization, has informed us that the Assembly's proceedings will continue with the election of the Radio-Television Managing Council. The parliamentary groups agreed that this procedure should be conducted in total conformity with the Law on the Status of the Radio-Television approved by the People's Assembly. The chairmen of the parliamentary groups and the Mass Media Commission are now proceeding to consider candidates. Thus today's proceedings ended. They will be resumed on 2 December at 1700. No doubt the composition of the Radio-Television Managing Council, which on the basis of law must be approved by the People's Assembly, may be announced in the next few days.

Newspapers Resume Printing, Distribution 28 Nov

AU2711201691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Hasan Kasmi, manager of the printing works, instructs all employees of the Tirana newspaper printing works to appear for work tomorrow, 28 November, because the printing and distribution of all our country's newspapers will resume on this date.

President Zhelev Receives Belorussian Delegation

AU2811170991 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—Today Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev received a Belorussian delegation for the Days of the Republic of Belorussia in Bulgaria. The delegation is headed by Metropolitan Filaret, exarch of the Belorussian Orthodox Church and MP [member of parliament] in the Supreme Soviet of the republic, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, told BTA.

President Zhelev expressed his satisfaction with the establishment of direct relations between Bulgaria and Belorussia. Dr. Zhelev said that after having established diplomatic relations with Russia Bulgaria will establish such relations with the Ukraine (after the referendum in that republic), with Belorussia and several other republics. Dr. Zhelev said that this is a way to strengthen not only the economic but also the spiritual relations between the Slav countries.

Official Denies Presence of Mercenaries in Croatia

AU2811120191 Sofia BTA in English 2129 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Report by Nikola Kitsevski: "Palestinians and Moroccans Detained on Crossing Yugoslav-Bulgarian Border"]

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (BTA)—Yesterday morning, near the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border at Zajecar, a group of six Palestinians and two Moroccans between 20 and 24 years of age were detained by the units of Yugoslavia's Interior Ministry. The eight young people had no identity papers and admitted they had crossed the border the previous evening, entering Yugoslavia's territory from Bulgaria. The Belgrade "BORBA" has doubts they wanted to enroll as mercenaries in the Croatian Army. The paper writes that this was only one of the groups without any identity documents who wanted to go to Croatia and, "most probably to get to the front line." The paper says that besides Kurds, Palestinians and Moroccans, there were Bulgarians among them too.

Interviewed by BTA correspondent, an official of the Bulgarian Consulate in Belgrade said that up to that moment the Yugoslav authorities had made neither an official statement nor had reported or even hinted having found out any Bulgarians going as mercenaries to Croatia. "On the contrary," the official of the Bulgarian Consulate stated, "when the war broke out there were many Bulgarians in Croatia, but most of them hurried to return to Bulgaria, making the respective arrangements themselves or with the help of the Bulgarian Embassy."

Turkish Business Leader Predicts Rise in Trade

AU2711212591 Sofia BTA in English 1448 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—Trade between Bulgaria and Turkey will reach some 150 million dollars this year, Mr. Faruk Erkoc, president of the Turkish-Bulgarian Business Council, told a news conference here today. It has increased considerably compared to last year when it totalled 12 million dollars.

The Turkish business circles, however, are anxious about the huge amount of low-quality goods imported from Turkey by newly fledged Bulgarian businessman in a manner much resembling smuggling. "We are concerned that it could project a bad image of Turkish goods here," Mr. Erkoc explained. He is the manager of an influential company called Penta Trading.

One of the principal purposes of the Bulgarian-Turkish Business Council's current meeting here is to normalize bilateral trade by promoting direct contacts between businessmen from Bulgaria and Turkey, said Mr. Konstantin Dimitrov, president of the council.

The businessmen are also discussing joint investment projects and industrial cooperation projects. Cooperation in the modernization of the large oil refineries at Burgas and Ali Aga (Izmir) and projects in metalworking, chemical and light industries and tourism are being negotiated.

According to Mr. Erkoc, bilateral trade can be expected to reach 400 to 500 million dollars in the next two or three years.

President Zhelev Interviewed on Elections

PY2711230291 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Nov 91 pp 2, 6

[Written interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Osvaldo Peralva; place and date not given]

[Text] [Peralva] Did the October elections fulfill your hopes?

[Zhelev] Some people may consider the election results unexpected because the parties and coalitions with a traditional presence in Bulgarian politics did not get into Congress. It should be kept in mind that in practice the elections became a kind of plebiscite. The people voted in favor or against the change of the system. For me the important thing is that two-thirds of the electorate voted against communism, and this is the first time in 45 years that the communists are the opposition.

[Peralva] According to the new Constitution, the next president will be elected in direct elections. When will those elections be held and will you be a candidate?

[Zhelev] The date for the elections will be established by the National Assembly but the Constitution says 12 January 1992. Regarding my candidacy, I will agree to

participate in the elections if I get the support of the political forces that voted for the change in the congressional elections independently of whether they are represented in Congress or not.

[Peralva] What are the priorities of your foreign policy? What is the role your country can play to prevent conflicts with neighboring countries? There are about 1 million Turks in Bulgaria. Do you believe there may be a conflict in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Bulgaria seeks to integrate with Europe. In addition to that we will promote relations with the United States, Japan, and with the developed countries to get modern technology, know-how, as well as support for our national security. We also will maintain anything useful in our relations with the former socialist countries, with Russia and the other republics of the Soviet Union. We will improve our relations with our neighbors. Our relations with Greece are excellent. We made great progress with Turkey if we compare the current situation with the situation under the old communist regime. I am sure that the region's conflicts can be prevented by more democracy and more dialogue.

[Peralva] What are the most important results of your economic reform program?

[Zhelev] We have gone through the first phase of the reform, the monetary reform. According to the experts, that phase of the reform was carried out appropriately. But we still are behind in implementing the structural part. In this regard, the efforts of the new Congress and government will be strengthened. It is important in Bulgaria not to have hunger. When food appeared in the markets the long lines practically disappeared.

[Peralva] You wrote the book *Fascism*, which could not be published under the previous regime. It was against fascism. How do you explain that?

[Zhelev] The book was prohibited because in the analysis of fascism the characteristics of communism became clear. As social systems, fascism and communism are images that reflect in the same mirror. But communism is the most perfect type of totalitarianism. Under the communist system, the regime controls everything and under fascism at least private property exists. This is the explanation given in the book *Fascism*. The communist totalitarian system recognized itself in it.

[Peralva] The Bulgarian Congress approved a law on agrarian reform. What are the specific results of that law? And what about the other reforms?

[Zhelev] The agrarian law is being implemented slowly. This is so because I believe that the land reform is a priority of the new Congress. The time has come for Bulgarian peasants to be the owners of their land. Regarding the reforms, there are so many that it will be difficult to list them. But in general terms I can say that in my country pluralism is already a fact; democracy has arrived, and the market economy practically prevails. The proof is that we have a multiparty system, freedom of press, independent unions, and we had two elections in one and a half years, and the presidential elections are coming.

Assembly Passes Amendments to Elections Act

AU2711211791 Sofia BTA in English 2051 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—Today parliament passed at second reading the amendments to the Presidential Elections Act. The ballot-papers will be coloured, as it was in the recent parliamentary elections. The parties and coalitions may keep the colour of the ballot-papers they ran on in the parliamentary elections. The registration deadline was extended by five days—it expires on December 7, the presidential elections being scheduled for January 12, 1992.

Public opinion polls show that President Zhelyu Zhelev has a great advantage over all other possible candidates.

However, yesterday's televised statement made by Rev. Khristofor Subev, member of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], was rather embarrassing. He said that yesterday the UDF leadership discussed certain conditions Dr Zhelev would have to accept in order to be nominated as president. The possible nomination of Mr. Stefan Savov, chairman of the National Assembly, was also debated. Mr. Savov did not deny that his candidature had been discussed several times but stated he had invariably and categorically refused to run in the presidential elections.

A member of the UDF Coordinating Council told BTA that certain UDF member-organizations had really demanded to set certain conditions for dr Zhelev's nomination. These conditions concern the candidate for vice president and the team of presidential advisers. According to the same source, at informal talks with UDF representatives dr Zhelev had said that his team's vice president would be a UDF-affiliated person, but he was undecided as to the blue colour of the ballot-papers.

The spokesman for the UDF, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev, explained that it is perfectly natural for different parties or coalitions to consider the nomination of different candidates.

Savov Denies Intention To Run for Presidency

AU2811115791 Sofia BTA in English 2208 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—Mr. Stefan Savov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, will not run for president. "The political analysis and my civic feelings made me turn down the honour I was proposed by some organizations," Mr. Savov said today in connection with some reports in the press that his presidential candidature had been discussed by the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces. [passage omitted]

The Union of Proprietors in Bulgaria, which has 100,000 members, will back Dr. Zhelev's candidature for a second term as president, the chairman of the union, Mr. Dimitur Todorov, said at a meeting with the president today. In an open letter today Dr. Zhelev countered the attempts made by some members of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] Coordinating Council to dictate conditions for his possible nomination as UDF's presidential candidate. The presidential institution cannot be brought into subordination through dictates issued by any political force whatsoever, Dr. Zhelev stated in reply to a statement made by Rev. Khristofor Subev on television who said that the UDF would nominate Dr. Zhelev for the presidential elections only if he accepted certain conditions.

Mr. Petko Simeonov, leader of the Liberals' Party, described the pressure exerted on the president by certain circles in the ruling coalition as "unprecedented and disgraceful." At a press conference today he accused the UDF of "seeking persistently and deliberately to establish a one-party system in Bulgaria."

The Social Democrats were unpleasantly surprised by parliament's decision for using coloured ballot-papers in the presidential elections. At the press conference of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party it was described as degrading for the nation. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Dimitrov on UDF Nominating Zhelev

AU2711212091 Sofia BTA in English 2058 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—The final decision on Dr. Zhelev's nomination as president by the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] will be made public together with the vice-presidential nominee, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, prime minister of Bulgaria and leader of the UDF, said in a televised statement today.

The chairman of the National Assembly, Mr. Stefan Savov, declined to run for president though there was a proposal for his nomination at the UDF National Coordinating Council, Mr. Dimitrov said.

Democratic Center Elects Chairman, Deputy

AU2711212791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] This afternoon the Bulgarian Democratic Center held the second round of elections for its leadership. At the beginning of the session it was decided to only elect the chairman and his deputy today. The names of the other members of the leadership will be made known before the end of this week.

Stefan Radoslavov of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was elected chairman of the Bulgarian Democratic Center by the votes of all the member parties, while Valentin (?Tsarovski) of the Green Party was elected as deputy chairman.

UDF Submits Privatization Bill to Assembly

AU2711211691 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—Today MP's [member of parliament] of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] submitted a privatization bill to parliament. One of its authors is Mr. Asen Michkovski, chairman of the Parliamentary Economic Committee. Interviewed by BTA, Mr. Michkovski underlined that the bill reflects the UDF's principled views on privatization.

A market-based approach to privatization is the main principle laid down in the bill. It does not make provisions for any free of charge privatization bonds.

When drafting the bill its authors drew on the experience of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the former East Germany.

According to the bill privatization in Bulgaria will consist in selling "interests and shares of transformed state-run or state-owned enterprises, to physical and juridical persons," in selling whole enterprises or "separate parts of them," and in selling "the property of liquidated enterprises."

The employees of privatized enterprises will be granted the right to buy shares but on certain conditions, one of them being that such preferential stock should be less than 50 percent of the assets of the respective enterprise.

A special section is devoted to the agency for privatization. A special supervising board elected by parliament will exercise control on the activity of the agency. It will be made up of representatives of different political forces.

Dimitrov Proposes Defense Ministry Changes

AU2811133991 Sofia BTA in English 1301 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov has submitted a proposal for changes in the leadership of the Ministry of Defence to President Zhelyu Zhelev. It is suggested to abolish the office of first deputy minister, now taken by Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, who will retain his position as chief of the Bulgarian General Staff. The proposed structural changes at the Ministry of Defence also involve abolishing the posts of the three deputy ministers of defence and relieving the incumbent officials of them. The ministry's future structure will be based on three "block": military-political, military-administrative and military-economic, Major General Stoimen Stoimenov, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, told a news conference here today.

Two teams are drafting projects on the development of the Bulgarian Army until the year 2000. The structural changes in the Army will continue so as to guarantee the

successful implementation of the new military doctrine based on the principle of defensive sufficiency. Professionalism is the basic criterion for the personnel changes and the inevitable cuts involved in them, according to General Stoimenov.

A new chief of the defence minister's office and three civilian advisers have been appointed, it was announced at the news conference.

Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, the minister of defence, met with the leaderships of the ministry's major departments to discuss steps to reforming them as part of the structural changes in the Army.

Answering a question, General Stoimenov said that there are no changes in First Turkish Army. A reduction in the huge military potential near Bulgaria's southern border can be expected after the visit to Sofia by the chief of Turkey's General Staff Dogan Gures in early December, General Stoimenov said.

He said that the units of the Bulgarian Army near the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border have not taken any extraordinary measures. Answering a question, he said that the Army is strictly fulfilling its obligations under Bulgaria's policy of non-intervention in the Yugoslav crisis.

General Claus, first deputy of the commander-in-chief of NATO's Allied Armed Forces in Europe, General John Galvin, will make a visit to Sofia as part of the preparation for General Galvin's visit in December, the news conference was told.

New Appointments in Defense Ministry Reported

AU2811142891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev is expected to issue a decree today by which he will approve the proposal of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to relieve the first deputy minister of defense and the deputy ministers of defense of their posts, and eliminate those posts. This was reported at today's news conference by Major General Stoimen Stoimenov, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense.

Maj. Gen. Stoimenov announced that Major Dimitur Nikolov has been appointed head of the minister of defense's office. Valentin Aleksandrov has been appointed adviser to the minister on issues of military policy and international security. Dimitur Tanovski has been appointed adviser to the minister on military-economic issues. Evelina Tsaneva has been appointed adviser on the issues of press and public relations.

Military Reform Contains 'Contradictions'

AU0212084491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Nov 91 p 4

[Article by Vasil Popov: "We Can Make the Americans Laugh With the Military Reform, But Make Ourselves Cry"]

[Text] It becomes increasingly evident that behind some alibi slogans about military reform and about the transformation of the Bulgarian Army into a highly professional institution, certain people who are trying to collect political dividends are hiding. Nevertheless the accumulation of political points of prestige by exploiting the problems of a recently depoliticized institution cannot even be defined as petty politicizing. This is nothing but simple showing off.

For a day and a half U.S. and NATO experts tried to acquaint the participants in a Rand Corporation Conference with various aspects of the military organization by delicately forecasting the possible difficulties and the length of a future Army reform. The statements of some Some Bulgarian speakers, however, evoked the amazement of the foreign experts.

Only their diplomatic tact prevented the U.S. generals from shaking their heads in disbelief when they heard about the requirement for an internal democratization of the Army. They even asked whether there has been some breathtaking Bulgarian discovery in this field and asked some clarifying questions. How exactly do the Bulgarian friends imagine the democratization of an institution that is authoritarin in all societies?

This purely populist thesis about democratization in the Army, which has recently been noisily advertised with simple-minded perseverance by some lieutenants from the new Rakovski Officers Legion, encouraged by high-ranking (and even supreme) civilian militaries, projected against the background of the general subject on the Army's role in democratic society, led to a slight Bulgarian- American misunderstanding. The pathetic efforts to prove that military discipline could be slackened, without violating the principle of one-man command, merely prompted a few condescending smiles. The Army is a democratic institution in our country, but whoever disobeys an order goes to prison, one English-speaking general remarked.

Nevertheless, this is one of the less important blunders of our reformers. The vagueness of the statements about national security, army organization, and military cadres, which are full of contradictions, is infinitely more disturbing. These contradictions simply cancel each other out. One of the statements in question reads as follows, for example: The Bulgarian Army should be reorganized above all because it is incapable of fulfilling its tasks, nevertheless "we managed to build up a contemporary Army equipped with modern weapons at an European-wide level, despite all shortcomings." The past cadre policy was allegedly based on "the criteria of ideology and loyalty to the party" (a quotation from General Stoyan Andreev), however, "we have well-trained military cadres, and we hope to use their services." (A quotation from Minister of Defense Dimitur Ludzhev).

There is even more: General Andreev said: "The beginning of the reform initiated two years ago has been very

successful thanks to our wise and courageous men." Nevertheless, "it is high time to part with the military nomenklatura," a spokesman of the Rakovski Legion says. Naturally, anyone can be influenced by reports in the style of "we have achieved great successes, but permitted some shortcomings to occur." This particularly applies to people who would like to please everyone, but their time is over.

In a boastful analytical report on the work of the Parliamentary Commission on National Security submitted to the aforementioned experts' conference, Valentin Aleksandrov pointed out that at the time of the Grand National Assembly the commission virtually served the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], in the first place, because the majority of members were Socialists, and in the second place, because the commission was relying on strong arguments and on the intellectual efforts of well-trained people, while the representatives of the opposition at that time did not understand anything about military affairs and naturally pereferred to communicate in a more relaxed, friendly tone. The gentleman in question conscientiously enumerated the achievements of the commission and the changes it implemented, but failed to explain how the care for national security could possibly have served the interests of one single party, as he claimed at the beginning of his report.

Mr. Aleksandrov also admitted that the new deputies are still expected to become familiar with the problems of national security and that seven to eight months would elapse before the new National Security Commission can properly function. Mr. Aleksandrov also forecast that it will be difficult to reach a consensus within the commission. None of the former commission's members are sitting in parliament today, he exclaimed. It is evident that the expert in question recognizes only the existence of a dark blue [Union of Democratic Forces] and Turkish [Movement of Rights and Freedoms] half in parliament, because at least several members of the Grand National Assembly Commission on National Security, its chairman included, are still sitting on the left side of parliament today.

Such statements, combined with the manner in which our Bulgarian- style military reform is developing, cause misgivings that our country may turn into an "unfenced yard" for an indefinite period. That is, if we should regard the guarantees for our national security as a fence.

President Zhelev pointed out that we should seek guarantees for our national security primarily in non-military spheres, such as economy, national unity, scientific research, diplomatic relations, and integration with all European structures. Considering that the change of priorities is regarded as the most important requirement for our national security today, Stoyan Ganev was appointed in charge of providing national security guarantees, besides his other obligations as foreign minister, such as dismissing diplomats from their posts, for example. Nevertheless, in his speech at the national Assembly Ganev failed to mention any directives concerning Bulgaria's involvement in global politics. His performance in parliament was something like the pledge of allegiance of a young high school student who was explaining his motivation for joining the Komsomol.

As long as disruptions of balance still exist in the military sphere, as long as there are hotbeds of tension in the world, and as long as drastic economic discrepancies exist, no state that is concerned about its existence can deprive itself of its own defensive strength, our supreme commander wisely pointed out. Nevertheless, due to the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact and the signing of a treaty on the reduction of conventional arms, Bulgaria is in an extremely unfavorable position. Partly because of this situation, a former simple warrant officer has been appointed in charge of building up a new army. We understood from the new defense minister's speech that he was engaged in taking apart the Bulgarian intelligence service to dismiss Dimitur Yonchev's friends. Now the professional officers are expecting him to disband the military intelligence and to tear up the old uniforms altogether, before tailoring new ones.

In certain countries military structures are subject to the local military doctrine, which is subject to a national doctrine in turn, while the national doctrine is subject to foreign policy priorities, and some other vital issues. However, in such countries the builders are building a house from the bottom to the top, while in our country it is permitted that a house should be built from the roof down to the foundation. As far as we know, the new doctrines have not been disclosed—hence we assume that they either do not exist at all, or are a top secret.

It may also be that the draft documents are not in our safe, they are just submitted to the public one by one after submitting us to intermediate test. However, as President Zhelev stated before the Rand Conference: "The state leadership has engaged in the implementation of the reforms for the sake of which the Union of Democratic Forces has come into power, and this also extends to the reform in the national security system."

Ukranian Official Asks for CSFR Support

AU2911155591 Prague CSTK in English
2137 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today recommended that the growing level of Czechoslovak-Ukrainian political and economic cooperation be reflected in agreements.

Receiving Ukrainian First Deputy Foreign Minister Mikola Makarevic, who is heading an Ukrainian delegation ending today a three-day visit to Czechoslovakia, Dienstbier accepted an invitation to visit the republic at the beginning of next year.

Speaking about the objectives of the Ukrainian foreign policy, Makarevic said Ukraine wants to establish diplomatic relations with advanced countries, and to join the process of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), including disarmament talks.

Makarevic asked for Czechoslovakia's support in Ukraine's efforts to enter the European policy.

Makarevic said Ukraine wants to be a nuclear-free zone. The current 1.5 million soldiers in the republic should be gradually reduced to a defense-sufficiency level of 100,000 men, most of them career soldiers.

A protocol on cooperation between the foreign ministries of the two republics was signed by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenko Pirek and Makarevic.

Pirek proposed a meeting of experts on the questions of succession of Czechoslovak-Soviet treaties and agreements.

In Bratislava later today, Makarevic met with Slovak Deputy Premier Gabor Zaszlos who spoke about Slovakia's interest in promoting economic and cultural relations with Ukraine.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 28 November on pages 1 and 5 carries a 700-word interview with Mikola Makarevic by MLADA FRONTA DNES correspondent Pavel Posusta, entitled "Czechoslovakia Has No Reason To Be Afraid of the Ukraine," which was conducted during the Ukrainian diplomat's visit to Czechoslovakia. In the interview, Makarevic first emphasizes the Ukraine's interest in relations with Czechoslovakia as its immediate neighbor. In this context he mentions that "we are preparing an important interstate document on cooperation and good neighborly relations between Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine, which should be the basis of our future relations." Makarevic then confirms the decision of his country's parliament that "the Ukraine will be a neutral state without nuclear weapons" and that it will "voluntarily take upon itself commitments" arising from international disarmament agreements. Keeping nuclear weapons on its territory "would disturb the geopolitical and geostrategic balance in the world. On the contrary, we want to join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty," Makarevic says. The Ukrainian diplomat also voices the assurance that "the Ukraine will have a small, mobile army not exceeding 100,000 men" that will pose no threat to its western neighbor. Asked about his opinion on the possibility of Czechoslovakia's breakup, Makarevic says that the Ukraine regards the issue of Czechoslovakia's future state setup as its internal affair, that it is "ready to cooperate with both Slovakia and the Czech Republic," and that it "does not want to, and will not, influence this process." In this context he says: "In this regard, we also would not want some kind of an external Ukrainian factor to be used as an argument in political discussions in your country, as this is unfounded and unsubstantiated. I am thinking of Prime Minister Marian Calfa's statement (of 25 November) about some kind of a threat from the Ukraine."]

Deputies Request UN Observers in Slovakia

LD3011145891 Prague CSTK in English
1227 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 29 (CSTK)—A group of deputies to the Czechoslovak and Slovak parliaments have sent off a request to the U.N. secretary-general, the Helsinki-Watch and the Washington-based American-Czechoslovak Friendship Society for U.N. observers to be sent to Slovakia.

The deputies have handed the request personally to the embassies and consulates in Prague and Bratislava.

The request was made public at a press conference of the Slovak National Party (SNS) on November 22. The SNS was the only party to seek an independent Slovak state in its programme before the June 1990 parliamentary elections.

The request calls on the United Nations to send to Slovakia observers who would ensure objective and unmanipulated information of the international community about the development of the political situation in Czechoslovakia with special regard to Slovakia.

The request was signed by 45 deputies to the Slovak and Federal parliaments—28 from the SNS, 13 representing the Opposition Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), one the Slovak National Democratic Movement (SNDH), one the Greens Party and one the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and one from the Democratic Left Party (SDL).

One of the signatories, Milan Knazko, said "this is an initiative of deputies regardless of their political affiliation. It has been signed by those who consider it necessary to draw attention to the distortion of the image of Slovakia abroad".

Knazko, a popular actor before the November revolution, became after 1989 adviser to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and after the 1990 elections Slovakia's minister for international relations. He was dismissed from the post in April 1991. Today he is

member of the Opposition Movement for a Democratic *Slovakia (HZDS)*, led by former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar.

The Slovak Ministry for International Relations described the initiative as an act which might be "counter-productive".

Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament), noted that "it is only the presidium of the Slovak parliament which is entitled to convey a Slovak stand to international organisations, including the United Nations".

Martin Porubjak, chairman of the government Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN), said the initiative is "comical", adding he "would not object if a U.N. commission comes to Slovakia".

Peter Weiss, chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), said the initiative was not dealt with by SDL bodies.

Jan Petrik, executive deputy chairman of the government Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), considers the initiative a result of the "problem of insufficient self-confidence".

Representatives of the government Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI) believe that "in a free country free people have the right to voice also such a wish".

Havel Addresses Bratislava Rally on Common State

LD0112004191 Prague CSTK in English 1924 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 30 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today said he really does not "understand why two (Czech and Slovak) sovereign nations so close to each other could not live in a common state arranged as a democratic federation of two equal republics". Addressing some 2,000 Slovaks in a trade unions house in Bratislava, Havel said he makes every effort to save democracy and prevent constitutional crises, chaos and conflicts among citizens. He stressed he will do his utmost for the current problems linked with Czechoslovakia's future setup to be settled as soon as possible. He said he will address Federal parliament Tuesday to comment on his recent proposals in this respect. After his arrival to Bratislava Havel visited Federal parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek in his villa to congratulate him on his 70th birthday (November 27). Attending the rally organised by the "Initiative for a Common State" were Czech parliament Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova, Czechoslovak and Slovak parliament deputies and other officials.

Others Speak at Rally

LD0112005191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Alexander Picha on a Citizens Initiative rally in Bratislava on 30 November]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Before attending celebrations to mark Alexander Dubcek's birthday, President Vaclav Havel came to the Bratislava rally. Amid stormy applause, he said he would do everything in his limited power to solve our constitutional problems so that we can live to see a democratic, free, and prosperous Czechoslovakia. President Havel stressed that these meetings with citizens were, for him, a source of energy and proved to him that citizens had sometimes more sense than politicians. A brief address by Dagmar Buresova, chairwoman of the Czech parliament, was received with similar applause. Slovak Privatization Minister Ivan Miklos said the federation should have powers that would enable it to function properly. He described movements which pretend to favor a federation but do not want to fill it with concrete content as the worst danger. If we preserve a common state, Miklos said, it would mean that we belong to Europe; if not, we belong to the Balkans and Asia. Where we belong, he said, is where we will end up. Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos condemned attempts by some Slovak officials to create a separate Slovak intelligence service and border protection. Jan (Mladek), from the Economy Ministry, warned that the Slovak representatives envisage a single currency in case of a confederation but that the Czech representatives would favor two currencies. Other Federal and republican ministers and parliamentary representatives participated in the Bratislava rally. Its participants also called on citizens to participate in tomorrow's symbolic human chain between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, starting from Lanzhot and Brodske villages.

Calfa Interviewed On Constitutional Crisis

AU0212091891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Calfa by Branislav Janik; in Prague on 27 November: "It Will Become Obvious Who Is Who"]

[Text] Prague—At its extraordinary meeting today, Marian Calfa's cabinet has only one item on its agenda—a discussion of specific ideas about a functional federation that will be presented to National Councils, Parliament, and the public. The prime minister granted an interview on this subject to NARODNA OBRODA.

[Janik] Your statement that the Federal Government had not trusted national representatives was received in Slovakia with indignation. What was your standpoint based on?

[Calfa] During the Kromeriz talks, where all the parliamentary parties were present, we adopted the principle on which the treaty between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council should be concluded. We respected it, stood aside, and provided expert assistance. The talks continued, but it was obvious that instead of searching for a really functional model for the federation, we were listening to discussions about the minimum level of powers that a functional federation should have. Things that had nothing to do with the creation of an efficient mechanism were dragged into the discussion. In my opinion, something either functions, or it does not. If it is supposed to function, it must have all it needs to function—no more and no less.

[Janik] Mr. Kalvoda also said that you should not have backed out of the process prematurely, and that this cabinet meeting is actually an irrelevant step.

[Calfa] The cabinet is composed of Czechs and Slovaks. It is not a third nation. We were elected in the same elections as the representatives of the republics. In Slovakia's opinion we are pro-Czech federalists. However, we criticize unacceptable standpoints, be they Czech or Slovak. We treat all unacceptable declarations in the same way, no matter who issues them—I. Carnogursky or J. Kalvoda. We are going to form our own consistent idea and present it to the National Councils. We see this as providing help, since the National Councils are overwhelmed by unconstructive disputes. I am aware of the fact that the federally conceived idea will not satisfy everyone—but it is the Federal Government which has to bring harmony in the National Councils—and I believe that this idea is rational and objective. It would be a mistake if national representatives were to reject our idea in advance and instead of judging the idea, judged the people who proposed it.

[Janik] I have the impression that the government is between two stools. If your ideas are based on the current amended Constitution, there is little chance that your suggestions will be approved by the Slovak part of the Chamber of Nations. If you retreat, we may expect disapproval by the Czech part. Will your ideas not fail?

[Calfa] Our proposals are balanced. I believe that, due to this balance, republican representatives, too, will find consensus. We will see who has the will to search for things that unite us. If political interests—the spirit of particularism—prevail, then there will be nothing left for us but to agree with the president, who addressed the voters first, and not those who were elected. Sovereignty and power derive from the electorate—not from the republics and legislative organs.

[Janik] Do you respect today's division of power in your proposal?

[Calfa] It is not only powers that are involved here. In particular, we have a consistent idea about how executive power should function. Important issues that define the state are involved here: status under international law, defense, security, economic policy, foreign policy, the tools for preserving economic unity, etc. What are we doing? In the 1968 constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, powers are divided between the federation and the republics. So far, we have proceeded in a simple way—we were canceling the federation's powers and handing them over to the republics without modification. However, what we are transferring to the republics are only centralist powers! We are not dismantling a centralist state—we are building centralist republics, and this is unacceptable. Our idea is that powers should be transferred to regions—or that these powers should be eliminated as non-functional. In the new model of the economy and the state people do not need them.

[Janik] Is your cabinet not isolated in its endeavor? Republican representatives may block your attempts. What will happen if your initiative accelerates the crisis and gives rise to early elections?

[Calfa] I am not worried in that respect. We will simply present our proposal to everyone. We want to present a high quality proposal. I believe that high quality work should not lead to a parliamentary crisis. It is impossible for this situation to go on ad infinitum. It makes people tired of it and prevents us from doing what we should do. The consequences are quite visible even abroad. Our trustworthiness and credibility dropped two points in the world tables. Foreign capital is like a shy doe, as I call it, that is pricking up its ears—should I go there, should I not, is there a danger there? In a word: Republics, in the interests of the people, you cannot proceed like that!

[Janik] National Councils may, but do not have to, use the cabinet's draft for formulating the treaty, and Parliament may, but does not have to, include it in the Constitution. What will happen then?

[Calfa] We wish to propose a balanced and high quality draft that would be impossible to reject. Why should such a draft be thrown out if it is consistent and if no similar draft has been agreed upon? Do not let yourself get infatuated by mathematics, which says that two-thirds were agreed upon and only one-third remains to be resolved. It is precisely this one-third which is decisive for the existence of the common state. We must be aware of these things. We have a justified suspicion that it is precisely this unresolved one-third that caused the stalemate. Division of the state would be a tragedy. As I say—Slovakia may have the feeling that it would lose nothing by the division, and so may Bohemia, yet I look at this differently and know that each of the republics would lose half its weight. This is a counterproductive statement, yet true.

[Janik] Reaction to the president's initiative are relatively restrained in Slovakia. What reaction to your government's initiative do you anticipate?

[Calfa] I insist that if our initiative is a high quality one and if it represents what the republics, the federation, and also the public think, then there is no reason for rejecting it. We really want to create a situation in which either side may reject our proposal, but must give good

reasons for their rejection. However, it would be unacceptable to reject it simply because it has been drawn up on the federal level! Are there not both Czechs and Slovaks on the federal level? Are we something different?

[Janik] We hear that the Federal Government is in fact paralyzed and not functioning, and that as a consequence of the current crisis, decisions needed for the transformation of Czechoslovak society are being postponed.

[Calfa] I do not think so. Constitutional matters have not been the government's priority so far: The government deals with people's daily problems. We will not let ourselves get manipulated into thinking that there are no problems other than relations between Czechs and Slovaks. I would be so bold as to say, despite the fact that the nationalists will curse me, that people do not care what the sign says at the entrance to their town as long as they live well there and have jobs.... These are the things that the government should deal with, and not the constitutional setup. We have involved ourselves in this matter in addition to our work, but our priority is the solution to everyday problems.

[Janik] What levers does the cabinet have to push its ideas through? The Slovak National Party in Slovakia calls your initiative an attempted putsch, and they say that you will keep your jobs of federal bureaucrats even at the price of causing a bloodbath as in Yugoslavia.

[Calfa] We respect the constitutional course of action, and we have no lever other than the representative bodies. We can assert our influence through political parties. We are in a situation where, apart from addressing our parliament and political parties, we must also address our voters so that they may address their deputies. What must not happen is that some 100 deputies should be able to break this state up. They have no mandate for this. This is politicking that ignores the opinion of the people. Is it a putsch if we address legislative bodies and the people? I read the Slovak National Party's statement with amusement. Actually, I did not expect anything different from them. You can see for yourself that we do not use words like "putsch" or "bloodbath", but the Slovak National Party does.

[Janik] I would like to return to the problem of transferring powers to the regions. If the cities, communities, and people have a real opportunity to control their lives, will the disputes about power-sharing disappear?

[Calfa] I am convinced that the power-sharing problem will cease to exist within a year or two. Irreversible changes are really taking place in the economy, ownership relations, and relations between citizens and the state. This is why the state powers are disappearing.

[Janik] Slovaks active in Prague are quickly given the pejorative label of federal and pro-Czech Slovaks, who are characterized as people who "pass the buck." What is your opinion on this, Mr. Premier?

[Calfa] Of course, every Slovak becomes a criminal as soon as he begins working in Prague, because the genuine and true Slovaks stay in Bratislava—at least some crazy people think so. I live in Prague but I was elected in eastern Slovakia. Who are the people who voted for me? Are they not Slovaks? Only those politicians and mass media that want to kick the competition out of political life speak about "passing the buck." What publicity was given to the fact that the Federal Office for Economic Competition has its headquarters in Bratislava? The entire federal institution is located there. So is the Office of the President. What about the fact that the Federal Constitutional Court will be based in Brno? What has been moved out of Bratislava? It is Bratislava which is a centralist [as published] center. If it were not for Bratislava, there would be no Slovakia. The centralism that has evolved in Bratislava is such that we in Prague can only dream.

[Janik] The last question. When will the public learn what was discussed at the extraordinary meeting of the cabinet?

[Calfa] We invited the president to the meeting, which proves that it is an important one. As soon as we approve the government draft, we will publish it. We will give it to the media so that everyone can have his say on the matter, not only the deputies. In conclusion I would like to add that our step will clear the air and it will become obvious who is who. This is what we, our people, and our common state need.

Spokesman Comments on Missile at Border

LD0112011591 Budapest MTI in English 1618 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—An unidentified missile which failed to explode was found by a patrol of the Baja police on Friday afternoon, 4.5 kilometres from the Hungarian-Yugoslav state border, in Bacs-Kiskun County (southern Hungary), between the villages of Gara and Bacsborsod. A local resident notified the police after having found the missile on an agricultural area, MTI was told by Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence, and Attila Krisan, deputy spokesman of the Border Guards. The officials said the process to identify the missile type has already begun. In view of the fact that it was found near the Hungarian-Yugoslav border, a representative of the Yugoslav section of the Hungarian-Yugoslav local joint committee that investigates border incidents has been asked by the Hungarian side to participate in the work. The first deputy of the chief of staff of the Hungarian Armed Forces summoned the Yugoslav military attache in Budapest to his office, and informed him about the event on Saturday afternoon.

Probe Confirms Missile From SFRY

LD0112132891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] The Hungarian Border Guard has confirmed that the air defense missile found a few kilometers from the border was launched from Yugoslav territory. Spokesman Janos Zubek added that the Hungarian Army did not have an air defense missile bearing this serial number. According to the investigation, it is not a case of a deliberate act. An expert from Yugoslavia also participated in the committee's work.

Authorities Lodge Protest

LD0112012791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Gyorgy Keleti, Defense Ministry spokesman, reports on the missile found near the Yugoslav border yesterday:

[Begin Keleti recording] This missile is an air defense missile of the surface-to-air type which can be identified by the name (?KUB), which is its Soviet name. It has also been established that the missile's serial number does not figure on Hungarian Army records. Therefore, the possibility of this being a Hungarian Army (?KUB) missile can be totally excluded. [passage omitted] [end recording]

There has been heavy fighting all day along another section of the Hungarian border, in our immediate neighborhood. Two grenades landed on County Baranya territory:

[Begin Keleti recording] The border guard noticed these two grenades, and, as laid out in such cases—in international norms, as well—it has lodged a protest in the appropriate manner with the border guard organs on the other side of the border. [end recording]

Neutral Air Corridor on SFRY Border Said Calm

LD2911215591 Budapest MTI in English 1912 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—With calm prevailing in the neutral air corridor over the Hungarian-Yugoslav border, there has been no need for either side to use the hotline established a week ago Hungarian Defence Ministry spokesman Col. Gyorgy Keleti told MTI today.

Over the past week, no Yugoslav aircraft has violated the neutral corridor, extending 10 kms (6 miles) in both directions.

Only on one occasion has an aircraft with foreign markings approached the corridor.

As regards the past few days, no plane has come nearer than 30 kms (19 miles) to the Hungarian border, thus the Hungarian Army's military aircraft have not had to take off on patrol missions over that period.

Spokesman Says Air Force Can Control Airspace

LD3011192491 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian air defence does need to be updated, however, this does not mean it is unable to ensure the Hungarian air space against forces that are equal to it, said Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence, in an interview with MTI. Keleti made the remarks in connection with an article published in the London FINANCIAL TIMES. In the article, an British military expert said the country does not have the means to control its air space, to say nothing of defending it, as the Soviet troops took the radar installations with them when leaving Hungary. The spokesman said the expert of the London newspaper was probably comparing the Hungarian air defence to the Western standards. However, there are no such modern aircraft in our region, which the Hungarian air defence could not detect and, if need be, to eliminate in time.

Croatian Prime Minister Discusses War, Minorities

AU2911150191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric by Tibor Eszes in Budapest; date not given: "Greguric: Budapest Does a Lot for Croatia"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Eszes] According to announcements from Belgrade, the Serbs would be willing to withdraw the Army from at least those Croatian areas that are not affected by fighting—providing that the blockade of the barracks is lifted. Can you accept this?

[Greguric] The fact that the Serbs have raised this issue is not serious. The barracks are free now. They are provided with everything they need, namely food, water, and electricity. It is a different issue that the soldiers are unable to go to the towns and villages. It is not because they are not allowed to go but because they dare not do so—they fear for their safety because people cannot even bear to see them anymore. And it is the Army, the Serbian Army that surrounded us. The Army controls all the major roads and strategic points in Croatia, thus limiting our lives. We, most of all, would like to see their departure—and slowly, they are starting to leave.

[Eszes] Both sides accused the other of very serious deeds, namely that they massacred civilians and prisoners of war. Photographs of this were also published. How do you see this problem, which will obviously place a considerable burden on the future and the coexistence of the nations?

[Greguric] The fighting and the massacres are taking place in Croatia and not in Serbia! The aggression is being committed against us.

As for the murders, they took place in Croatian territory, from Baranja to Vukovar, Ilok, and Virovitica. Vukovar did not attack the Serbs! It only defended itself against the intruders. It is a different matter that many of the soldiers and volunteers attacking the town also died. In addition, people who were forcefully conscripted from Vojvodina and directed there to be cannon-fodder have also died. The enormous destruction was committed by the attackers! The way the hatred that the killings burst open will affect the future is a very difficult question; a very long time will surely be needed for it to subside. Nevertheless, tolerance and support for coexistence will be the official Croatian policy, because it is very hard to find an area here that only has one ethnic group.

[Eszes] For this very reason, the establishment of democratic living conditions for the national minorities in Croatia will be one of the main tasks of independent Croatia. What plans do you have to guarantee national minority rights and preservation of identity?

[Greguric] The Zagreb parliament will pass the new law on this issue on 5 December. This law offers a solution to our national minorities that is very similar to the Tirol in Italy and perhaps Switzerland, and which exists in Western European countries. No one has protested against the bill yet; we do not foresee any serious problems in this area. However, we also have to encourage the Serbian side to find a similar solution to the problems of Croatian, Hungarian, Bosnian, and other national minorities. [passage omitted]

[Eszes] How many victims does this tragedy in Croatia have so far?

[Gregoric] I cannot give you exact figures. More than 3,000 people have lost their lives in the fighting and massacres, and there are at least five times as many injured—on the Croatian side. The other side has 6,000 to 9,000 dead, mainly as a result of the fighting in Vukovar. In addition to the serious human losses, the latter presents further problems: Those who lost their lives are being carried to other areas and buried in mass graves, and—hiding the reality from the victims' parents—it is stated that these soldiers and volunteers were murdered. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Denies Romanian Mistreatment Charges

LD3011000891 Budapest MTI in English 1929 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman today repudiated accusations made by his Romanian counterpart, Traian Chebeleu, that Hungarian authorities are mistreating Romanian citizens visiting here.

In a news conference yesterday, Chebeleu said the Romanian delegation holding talks in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry complained that "the Hungarian police and customs authorities have mistreated Romanian citizens staying in Hungary temporarily and in some cases have acted arbitrarily and even unlawfully." Without mentioning concrete cases, Chebeleu accused the Hungarian police authorities of using force without justification, withholding the passports of Romanian citizens, and causing them further difficulties.

"We can only investigate concrete affairs. The Romanian delegation, however, has not mentioned any," said Herman, adding that the taking into custody of suspects and their subsequent investigation are always carried out in accordance with the law, that the consular section of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest is informed immediately and that passports are only withheld if the bearers are suspects remaining at large.

The property of Romanian citizens is seized only if they have violated the customs regulations (in 90 per cent of the cases cars are involved), and may only be confiscated under a decision of the court, Herman said.

So far this year over 700,000 Romanian citizens have visited Hungary, 50 times as many as three years ago, he said.

Throughout the talks, the Hungarian delegation emphatically complained about the Romanian authorities' attitude toward Hungarian citizens. The Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest is informed belatedly, if at all, about the arrest of Hungarian citizens or their involvement in traffic accidents. The bilateral consular agreement, Herman said, stipulates that such information

must be provided in four days. This is all the more regretful since, due to Romania's particularly bad public security, many Hungarian citizens are attacked and robbed. In most cases, the Romanian authorities fail to investigate the affair or even draw up a report.

To improve representation of its constituents, Hungary is pressing for the opening of a Hungarian consulate-general in Cluj (and perhaps vice-consulates in Timisoara, Brasov and Tirgu Mures), and allowing Romania to operate a consulate in Debrecen. The Romanian side has flatly refused the idea so far, Herman said.

Antall on National Bank, Ministry Changes

LD0112194391 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall granted an interview to the Hungarian news agency about the Hungarian financial policy, the changes in personnel that became necessary at the National Bank of Hungary [NBH], the press rumours about the merging of ministries, and the planned changes in personnel in the Foreign Ministry.

Antall stressed the law on the central bank, which came into effect on December 1, made it necessary to relieve, and then to re-appoint the supreme leaders of the National Bank. This meant that the president and vice-presidents of the bank definitely had to be relieved. It falls under the authority of the prime minister to submit a proposal regarding the new leaders. Antall said that, utilising this authority, he proposes the four vice-presidents to continue on as vice-presidents, and for the current minister of industry and trade, Peter Akos Bod, to take over as president of the NBH.

In answer to whether these changes endanger the confidence of the foreign financial circles towards Hungary, the prime minister said: The successful financial policy of the past is linked not only to the name of Gyorgy Suranyi (the relieved NBH president), but is the result of the work carried out by the entire National Bank and the Hungarian Government.

With respect to the fact that Suranyi signed the opposition statement "democratic charter," which questions the existence of the current Hungarian democracy, and attacks the government, Antall said:

The signing of such a statement means the person signing it doubts that democracy exists in Hungary. When someone calls for democracy in a democracy, the person is either labouring under a misconception, or is making false statements. Neither the president of the independent central bank, nor any single member of the government can sign such a political statement. Antall said that senior Western bank experts and politicians who learned about this fact were of the opinion that it is not possible for a president of a national bank to sign a political statement of this kind.

The prime minister said he personally informed Suranyi about his objections, including his view that this action is incompatible with the position of National Bank president. A statement of this kind can be signed by independent professionals, and private citizens. He did not propose to relieve the NBH president in order to uphold the continuity of the financial policy, however, at present, when he must make a proposal for the new leadership of the bank on the basis of the new central bank law, he will accept the responsibility of deciding who to propose, Antall said.

Peter Akos Bod has accepted to give up all his political activities, and his seat in parliament. Bod is a respected economist, similarly to Suranyi. Foreign experts, including Sandor Lamfalussy, the leader of the Bank for International Settlements, were reassured to learn about Bod's appointment, as were leaders of other international financial organisations, when Antall asked them for their views.

Antall said he has a good opinion about the work carried out by Suranyi from the professional point of view. He considers Suranyi a valuable expert, and thus hopes the former NBH president will take up his offer, and will continue to work in the state service, and will fulfil a suitable function enjoying the confidence of the government.

The prime minister denied rumours, whereby the Ministry of Industry and Trade, and the Ministry of International Economic Relations would shortly be merged. Such changes do not depend on the government's decision only, parliament must also amend a law in this interest, he noted.

The changes in the Foreign Ministry were mainly connected to the political developments of the past 18 months, developments which had a fundamental influence on foreign affairs work. (As was reported, Imre Szokai and David Meiszter, deputy secretaries of state of the Foreign Ministry, were relieved, and were offered posts as ambassadors in countries not disclosed as yet.)

The prime minister said these were not extraordinary events. Occasional changes in personnel are natural. The professional standard of work in the ministry will not decline in view of the personnel changes.

Jeszenszky Announces Foreign Ministry Changes

LD3011212391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Heads of Foreign Ministry departments are temporarily directing those areas formerly under the leadership of state Secretaries Imre Szokai and David Meiszter, who were relieved. The ministry's leader told a news conference that matters of personal incompatibility over the past 18 months were the reason for the changes. Istvan (Monori) will be responsible for Soviet, Polish, and Czechoslovak relations, while Miklos (Endressy) will be responsible for matters related to security policy,

disarmament, and international cooperation. Geza Jeszenszky reaffirmed that he continues to consider reorganization within the ministry to be indispensable, but he emphasized that there remains no final decision in the matter. He said that the names of Imre Szokai and David Meiszter had arisen in connection with important ambassadorial appointments.

Defense Committee Holds Meeting on Budget Deficit

LD3011132791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] According to certain calculations, the state budget deficit this year will be even more than 100 billion forints. As to how the budget will be distributed among the various ministries next year, naturally, this is a disputed question. The National Assembly Defense Committee had a closed meeting today about how much should be given to the defense portfolio next year. In the afternoon, they held a news briefing, which was attended by our colleague Gabor Kereszti.

[Begin Kereszti recording] It is expected that by the end of December, the special measures which had to be implemented along the southern border due to the Yugoslav civil war, will cost the Army 1.3 billion forints. If this situation does not change, according to the estimation, next year the Army will spend 150-200 million forints per month for the same purpose. This is an extra expense, thus it is not calculated into next year's draft budget of the Army. The Defense Ministry has to find the money by reallocating their own internal resources. The portfolio would need 59.65 billion forints next year so that the basic conditions are guaranteed for defense, said Lietuenant-General Antal Annus. What are these? First of all, the Army's combat readiness can not be reduced. There is a need for land and air defense forces which are immediately available and also the necessary equipment, for example, modern radar. Among everything, air defense has priority. It is all necessary, emphasized State Secretary Ernoe Raffay, for a dangerous situation can evolve. Compared to all the neighboring coutries, we have fewer soldiers and heavy armament and next year's draft budget can hardly ease this, since only 9 percent could be given to development, the remaining 91 percent will serve only the purpose of maintaining the state of the Army, as it turns out. Defense Committee representatives present said that the committee accepted the submission of the portfolio as a basis for negotiation. [end recording]

Secretary Reports 1991 Harvest 'Highly Favorable'

LD3011172391 Budapest MTI in English 1424 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—Speaking at the Friday government spokesman's briefing, Gyorgy Rasko, secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture, said that this year's crop results were highly favourable, with 15 million tonnes of grain harvested and a record maize output achieved. However, the financial balance was far less favourable, mainly due to liqudity problems. The secretary of state predicted better market opportunities for 1992 as a result of the association agreement initialled with the European Communities. He mentioned among new sales channels the EC relief programme aimed at the Soviet Union, in which Hungary may take part as a supplier. Gyorgy Rasko attached great importance to the future transformation of agricultural co-operatives, whereby coop members can freely decide whether to form a novel type of co-operative or other kinds of business association, or to switch to private farming.

Economic Cabinet Says Inflation To Reach 36 Percent

LD3011151891 Budapest MTI in English 2053 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—Inflation in Hungary is expected to be 35-36 per cent this year, a session of the economic cabinet stated today. The deficit of the state budget has reached 96 billion forints over the first ten months, exceeding forecasts for the whole year by 18 billion. The deficit of the social security fund at the end of September was 7.2 billion, 1.4 billion more than at the end of August. Interests on loans, however, have shown a slight drop.

Skubiszewski Comments on Recoignition of Ukraine

LD3011161391 Warsaw PAP in English
1728 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski replying on Friday to PAP's question concerning the recognition of the independence of the Ukraine said: "Is there really a question of recognition of a state which is member of the United Nations?" Minister Skubiszewski added that Poland is most advanced in relations with the Ukraine. "We have (with the Ukraine) intergovernment relations, there is a special envoy of the Ukrainian Government in Poland. No other state has such an envoy. We have treaties with them," said the Polish minister.

Official, Lithuanian Envoy Meet on Cooperation

LD3011162591 Warsaw PAP in English
2222 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Poland has made a gesture towards Lithuania to ease mutual co-operation. The director of the Consular and Emigration Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jacek Czaputowicz, received the Lithuanian charge d'affaires in Poland, Dainus Junievicziius, and handed him a note on Poland opening its border crossing with Lithuania to citizens from all countries. From November 27 the border crossing at Ogrodniki-Lazdijai, to which there was a limited access only until that date, became accessible from the Polish side to citizens from all countries, including West European ones. Czaputowicz also commented on the fact that it is now nearly 3 months since the regional councils in Salcininkai and Vilnius (areas where there are large Polish communities) were dissolved. According to a decision by the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic that is the time after which new elections should be held. Czaputowicz said that elections in the not too distant future would be in the interests of the favourable development of Polish-Lithuanian relations. Such a decision would facilitate the realisation of a visit by the Polish foreign minister to Vilnius, when a Polish-Lithuanian declaration would be signed.

Skubiszewski on Minorities

LD0112091291 Warsaw PAP in English
2239 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said on Saturday that he is ready to go to Lithuania but that "this visit cannot take place in an atmosphere of tension concerning minorities" as he put it.

He added that at the moment the main issue was a Polish-Lithuanian declaration which in his opinion should have been signed long ago. "It would have been signed, if Lithuania had not created the problem of the Polish national minority".

Skubiszewski added that the question of the citizenship of Poles in Lithuania could be seen as having been clarified, despite the fact that there was no new Lithuanian law concerning its recognition. He added that the question of Polish local councils in Lithuania was very important.

"President Landsbergis has spoken about this matter in an interview given not long ago. We would like what he said to be made more precise. Apart from that, the Poles will now be having elections in their community and it would be better if I went after they were completed", concluded Skubiszewski.

Walesa Letter on Government Read to Senate

LD2911182491 Warsaw PAP in English
1958 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—Only minutes before the conclusion of the Senate's debate here Wednesday President Lech Walesa's letter addressed to Senate speaker on Tuesday and concerning the government's resignation, was read to the House.

"Respect for this chamber and its dignity require that the senators be at least informed about such an important document which should not be merely placed in the senators' deposit boxes, Zofia Kuratowska of the Democratic Union argued during the debate. Despite her suggestion that the senators hold a discussion on the president's letter the debate closed after the document had been read by one of the Senate's secretaries.

The Senate which resumed its debates in the morning finally managed to elect Andrzej Czapski of the Liberal Democratic Caucus the third deputy speaker of the house.

This was accomplished during the fifth round of voting with Czapski gaining 55 votes and his opponent Wladyslaw Findeisen of the Democratic Union winning only 41 votes.

The senators also elected Wednesday six secretaries of the Senate and appointed an extraordinary committee to examine the State Electoral Commission's (PKW) report on elections to the parliament's upper house.

Submitting the report, the PKW head Prof. Andrzej Zoll expressed a conviction that the elections to the Senate had been conducted in accordance with the binding law and said his commission had found no facts which could put the election results in doubt. He announced, however, that the PKW would shortly start working on different draft variants of a new electoral law since the present one was not clear enough.

While commenting the fact that not a single representative of the Democratic Union (UD) was elected to the Senate's Presidium Vice-Chairman of the UD's Parliamentary Club Senator Franciszek Polomski said that the pact between the five centre-right parties and Solidarity representation was binding not only in the Sejm but also in the Senate.

The objective is to gain as much as possible and to push the Democratic Union to the fringes of the present political arrangement or into opposition, Polomski declared. He

added that Democratic Union senators would strive for chairmanship of the various Senate committees.

The next meeting of the Senate is to be held Dec. 5.

Walesa Details Constitutional Proposals

LD2911214991 Warsaw PAP in English 1902 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—President Lech Walesa submitted Friday highlights of his draft of a small constitution concerning the appointment and dismissal of the government and changes in the functioning of the supreme state bodies to the convention of seniors which groups the Sejm (lower house) speaker, his five deputies and leaders of the parliamentary floor groups.

The 17-point document envisages, among other things, that the president will appoint prime minister and other ministers at the latter's motion, that the government will have to submit its programme to the Sejm for approval and that the Sejm will pass a vote of confidence for the government by majority of vote.

The draft also stipulates that if the Sejm does not pass a vote of confidence the prime minister will be obliged to submit resignation of his cabinet to the president and the president will be obliged to accept the resignation.

Apart from that the draft proposes that the Sejm be authorized to pass a vote of no-confidence for the government at its own initiative by an absolute majority of vote, that the president be authorized to dismiss the government at his own initiative as well as that the parliament be authorized to legally empower the Council of Ministers to issue decrees with the power of laws.

Other key provisions of the draft of a small constitution state that Poland's president will be chairman of the National Security Council to be appointed to deal with state defence and security, and that both the president as well as the Sejm and the Senate will be authorized to call a national referendum on the issues of crucial importance for the state.

Presenting his draft of a small constitution President Walesa proposed that the Sejm pass this document first and only then appoint a new cabinet. The president argued that to-date distribution of competences among the legislative and executive bodies was not precise enough and made it impossible to urgently adopt solutions needed in the present economic situation of Poland.

"There are no legal possiblities now to grant broader executive powers to the government and without them it will be impossible to accelerate the necessary transformations (...), to speedily adopt the budget, to step up privatization and reprivatization and to reduce unemployment," Walesa stressed.

The president proposed that the Sejm pass the small constitution as its first law and said that if the resignation of Premier Bielecki's cabinet is accepted at the Sejm's next meeting, it should continue its work to prepare the ground for the future government.

President Walesa also assured the convention of seniors that he intended to frequently attend both plenary meetings of the Sejm as well as meetings of parliamentary clubs.

Sejm Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski told journalists after the meeting between the convention of seniors and the president that nobody questioned the need to set up an extraodinary Sejm committee to examine and push forward the issue of small constitution. He stated that nearly all the chairmen of parliamentary clubs were concordant that executive power required stabilization but opinions differed as to the individual proposals presented by the president.

The convention of seniors plans to examine the presidential draft during the meeting of the Sejm on December 5 and 6, and next to forward it to an extraordianry committee to be appointed by the Sejm. After a debate in this committee the draft will be presented again at the Sejm's plenary debate.

The Polish Peasant Party (PSL) leader Waldemar Pawlak stressed his party's will to work on the draft of a small constitution submitted by the president, regarding it as a variant of the future document, and expressed a hope it would be possible to build rational principles of equilibrium between the president, parliament and government, allowing to efficiently steer the state.

Aleksander Kwasniewski of the Democratic Left Alliance stressed the president's proposals were clear but required proper evaluation which should be done during the plenary debate and the debate in the extraordinary committee.

The Democratic Union leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki opined that the presidential draft contained a number of proposals rationalizing the state structures and said his party would support such proposals but object to those which tend to reduce the decision-making role of parliament.

Andrzej Kern of the Centre Alliance voiced his party's support for proposals designed to strengthen the government's executive powers and came out in favour of the need to clearly define the competence of the Sejm, Senate, president and the premier.

The Liberal Democratic Congress expressed its full support for the presidential draft of a small constitution as convergent with the congress' proposals presented earlier this year.

Commenting on the president's draft constitutional proposals Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) said his party regarded it necessary that the small constitution be passed but believed that the new Sejm's most urgent task was to appoint a new cabinet. Krol also said that KPN wanted the parliament to decide about the composition of the government and to bear the responsibility for what it did whereas the president's role should be to control and intervene.

KPN's leader Leszek Moczulski, who views himself as the likely candidate for the post of defence minister in the future cabinet, was critical of the president's proposal suggesting that a National Security Council be appointed to deal with issues of state defence and security. Moczulski said his party's own draft constitutional proposals make the president the supreme commander who in time of peace acts through the minister of defence.

Press Debates Plan

LD0212140491 Warsaw PAP in English 1227 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—President Lech Walesa's recent proposal to get the country running under a "small constitution" before the proper one can be adopted by the parliament has opened a press debate like many other presidential initiatives.

Commentator of Monday's GLOB daily believes that the small constitution would establish a presidential system in Poland giving almost all power to the Belvedere presidential camp, including the formation and control over the government which would no longer need support from a parliamentary majority. Even if a coalition of parties crystallized, they would have a little influence on the president's decisions.

Post-communist TRYBUNA quotes Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) parliamentary floor group deputy chairman Wit Majewski as saying that the very concept of a small constitution is "unfortunate" since the old constitution remains in force and adding any additional laws will only increase general disrespect for law. Jozef Oleksy, another deputy chairman of the SLD caucus, calls for the adoption of a constitution for good, not a provisional one, and the third vice- chairman Longin Pastusiak warns that under the president-proposed system, the parliament may well have little to do.

Catholic SLOWO POWSZECHNE observes that the presidential proposal makes the government fairly immune to the political game of forces represented in the parliament and thus rules out the risk of frequent government crises, which seems reasonable in the present political and economic situation of Poland.

Walesa Tells Council of Issues for Sejm

LD2911122591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] A meeting between President Lech Walesa and the Council of Elders ended almost an hour ago. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of the most important issues before the Sejm meeting planned for 5 December.

[Correspondent Andrzej Jelenski] According to President Lech Walesa, this meeting ought to be of fundamental importance to the work of the Sejm of the Third Republic, press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told journalists during the break. The state must function and develop. The division of power between the legislative and executive authorities is imprecise. Responsibility for decisions of state magnitude is being dissipated. Some simply cannot be taken. We are standing still, yet we need to act quickly. It is difficult to appoint a government, yet easy to undermine its authority. We also lack the legal possibilities of equipping it with wider powers to make laws, stressed the president. Without them, it will not be possible to accelerate necessary transformations, particularly economic ones. What is needed is the speedy passing of the budget; the acceleration of reprivatization and privatization and a reduction in unemployment; the fight against recession; restructuring; an increase in security; and the elimination of corruption.

Bearing all this in mind, stressed the president, I propose that the Sejm of the Third Republic, as its first legislative act, pass a constitutional law on the appointment and recalling of the government, and on other changes concerning the functioning of the highest state bodies.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have quoted you excerpts from the president's speech to the Council of Elders. This is Andrzej Jelenski speaking from the Sejm building.

Details Constitutional Proposals

LD2911125591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] During a meeting with the Council of Elders, President Lech Walesa presented points of a draft constitutional law concerning the appointment and recall of the government and other changes concerning the functioning of the highest state bodies. According to this draft, the president would appoint the chairman of the Council of Ministers and, on his resolution, the remaining ministers. Changes in the posts of the remaining ministers could also be made by the president on a resolution by the prime minister. The president could put forward a motion to the Sejm on the appointment or recalling of the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, the ombudsman and the chairman of the Polish National Bank.

The draft also envisages the appointment of a National Security Council, whose chairman would be the president. In accordance with an approved resolution, the president, Sejm and Senate could refer to the nation in matters of the greatest magnitude for the state by holding a national referendum.

The Council of Elders decided that if the draft small constitution reached the Sejm by Thursday, it would be included in the agenda for 5 December. The majority of parliamentary floor groups agreed on the need to adopt a small constitution.

Olszewski Says Communists 'Threat to Democracy'

LD3011072491 Warsaw PAP in English 2325 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Rzeszow, Nov. 29—Jan Olszewski, the prime ministerial hopeful backed by 5 major parties represented in parliament, said Friday that the Communists

in parliament "are a potential destructive force" and "a potential threat to democracy."

"We do not recognize their right to equitable partnership" with the other parliamentary factions, added Olszewski. "We will not cooperate with them, only tolerate them."

Addressing a meeting in Rzeszow, south-eastern Poland, Olszewski opined that the parliament, fragmented as it is, is fully capable of meeting the challenges facing it, that is passing a new constitution and forming a stable cabinet.

He warned that no one should expect spectacular success soon after his possible election for prime minister.

Walesa Assassination Attempt Reported

AU2911104191 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Nov 91 p 1

[Report signed 'tra, jach': "An Attempt on Walesa's Life"]

[Text] On Sunday, the police acknowledged the possibility of an attempt on Lech Walesa's life as reported in the Saturday GAZETA, although the police story differs from the one we received from three reliable witnesses.

Over the past few days the police, Office for the Protection of the Government [BOR], and Office for the Protection of the State have consistently refused to give any information about the incident. The GAZETA report also went unnoticed by the POLISH PRESS AGENCY, television, and radio.

Police sub-inspector Marek Luty, responsible for security during the Independence Day ceremony, denied that any attempt was made on the president's life in front of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. However, he did tell us about an incident in front of the Cathedral of St. John in the old quarter. On 11 November, half an hour before a ceremonial mass attended by the president, a BOR official overpowered 40-year-old Stanislaw B., who said that he had wanted to give the president, a keen fisherman, a commemorative knife so that Walesa could "kill the hated Balcerowicz."

Sub-Inspector Luty said that Stanislaw B., a Warsaw resident, is an inmate of a facility for people with psychiatric disorders, and already appears in police files. He is a so-called professionally discontented person, a breed of people who attend ceremonies of this sort. "The madman had no chance to get as far the president," said Sub-Inspector Luty. "He was divested of his knife and briefly questioned, after which there was no basis for taking him into custody."

But according to our information, there was an attempt on Walesa's life in front of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier that afternoon. An unknown man forced himself through the first BOR security cordon and got as far as the so-called zero zone, in other words the president's immediate vicinity. At this point he was immobilized by the president's bodyguard.

The president himself did not even notice the incident, but members of his entourage did.

Spokesman Denies Attempt

AU0112172491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Nov 91 p 2

["Statement by the Interior Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] In connection with successive reports in GAZETA WYBORCZA, "Was There an Attempt on the President's Life?" (23-24 Nov) and "An Attempt on Walesa's Life" (25 November), I hereby state that the events suggested and partly described in these GAZETA reports did not take place, which I told the authors of these reports before they appeared in print.

On 11 November, 50 meters from the podium, the security services checked the identity of a man who, as it turned out, had no permit to enter the area subject to special control. The man said that he had a written petition which he wished to give to the president personally. After checking his identity, the security men escorted him beyond the special control area. However, we read in a GAZETA report: "An unknown man rushed toward the president with a knife. He was overpowered by the president's bodyguard.... The attacker's present whereabouts are not known, and the name of the prosecutor investigating the incident is also not known.... The entire matter is shrouded in absolute secrecy, with an unprecedented news blockade."

That same day, during a mass at Warsaw Cathedral, a soldier of the Office for the Protection of the Government [BOR] on guard duty outside the cathedral was approached by a man who handed him a fishing knife and asked him to give the knife to the president. Because the man was among the general public beyond the protection barrier, a uniformed police patrol was summoned to take him to a police station. There his identity was checked and he was judged to be psychologically unstable, whereupon it was decided to keep him in custody until the end of the ceremonies.

Yet we read in GAZETA: "A BOR official overpowered 40-year-old Stanislaw B.... An unknown man forced himself through the first BOR security cordon and got as far as the so-called zero zone, in other words the president's immediate vicinity..."

These reports illustrate an obvious misuse and manipulation of information, for what relationship does a statement quoted in one of them whereby a policeman "denied that any attempt was made on the president's life" bear toward the subtitle of the same report, which reads: "The police confirm that an attempt on the life of Lech Walesa could have been made"?

Government Considers Energy, Ukrainian Referendum

AU3011150391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/11/1991—The weekly government meeting, presided over by Premier Theodor Stolojan, took place on November 29 at the Victoria Palace.

The first part of the meeting, devoted to the clarification of some constitutional provisions, was attended as invitee by Senator Antonie Iorgovan, chairman of the Constitution Drafting Commission.

The members of the executive posed questions and made comments that emphasized the necessity of specifications and legislative actions meant to provide the best conditions for the enforcement of the constitution right after the referendum.

Also in the same part of the meeting, the executive endorsed a statement marking the Romanian Government's stand on the referendum on the proclamation of the Ukraine's independence, due on December 1, 1991. The content of the statement was released.

The executive then analyzed the country's current energy situation. It was mentioned that no energy breaks were recorded with the consumers, just some limitations, and that all restrictions all over industry would be lifted next week. The prime minister cautioned about the necessity that in conditions of existence of firm energy programs, the relevant institutions should assume full responsibility for the carrying on of those programs.

Then, the government was informed about the progress of the autumn farm works and it was assessed that the executive will further focus on ensuring the wheat for bread, the necessary energy for agriculture as well as on the enactment of the land law.

The government discussed and analyzed the bill of budget of the central state administration for 1992. The premier showed that the budget had to be the main financial instrument of the government for the attainment of its priorities that result from the program adopted by the parliament.

The budget incomes and expenses in 1992 are established in the terms of exchange of the leu in force on November 1, 1991, the prices and steps of social protection deriving from the unification of the rates of exchange.

The executive endorsed the bill of ratification of the agreement of loan between Romania and the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], worth 150 million dollars, meant for health. Endorsed was also a bill on the issuance of the metal money under the coordination of the government, and executed by the specialty bodies of the Ministry of Finance.

The executive approved a bill to amend the Law No 12/1991 on profit tax. The introduction is proposed of a safer system of profit tax, consisting of the application of two proportional rates on tranches of profit.

The government discussed and endorsed in the same meeting a number of documents, including the decision on the protocol for maintaining in force the arrangement on international textile trade, the state subsidising of the building, conservation and repair of churches, the renegotiation of the protocol of Romania's adhesion to the GATT.

At the close of the meeting, Premier Stolojan informed the government on the stage of appointment in ministries of state secretaries and under secretaries, stressing that the designation to the respective offices was done with the strict observance of the understanding among the leaders of the political parties who participate in the current government.

Political, Religious Groups on Ukraine Referendum

PNT-cd Urges Consultations With Moldova

AU0212094091 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 25/26 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Statement by the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party Leadership; place and date of issue not given: "There Is No Right To Self-Determination For Bessarabia and Bukovina—A Declaration of the The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party"]

[Text] Taking into account the fact that both the people and the officials are somehow confused regarding the legal situation of Bessarabia, North Bukovina, and the other Romanian territories forcefully occupied by the USSR in 1940, their confusion having been caused by the communist education favorable to the Soviet domination, the leadership of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] makes the following declaration:

The United Nations has worked out in detail the issue of the right to self-determination and decided on the following norms:

This right results from the fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The right to self-determination is applied to a nation and not to a certain part of that nation and to the nations and states that are mentioned in the UN documents as being organizational forms of the same nation regarded as a whole.

This means that in case of Bessarabia and North Bukovina, the Romanian nation, in its entirety, including the Bessarabians and Bukovinians, has the right to self-determination, but this right should be enjoyed together with the rest of the Romanian people, not by some

without the others, or even worse, by some against others. There has never been such a thing in history as the right to self-determination being exercised against one's own nation, except for the period spent under the empire of oppressors and their instruments.

If one might still say that Bessarabia and North Bukovina are in a special situation and that they make an exception from the aforementioned rule because the population in these areas has been separated for a long time from the Romanian people, one can respond to such a statement simply by mentioning that such a special situation was based on an illegal act of force and the threat of force against the Romanian people. An illegal act cannot be the basis for a legal act—of self-determination—which would legitimize the result of an act of aggression. Moreover: to accept self-determination, separately, only for Bessarabians, would mean to confirm the theses of the Soviet bolshevism, according to which the population of Bessarabia is a different nation from the Romanian people, something that is completely false, as it ultimately has been admitted even by the occupier.

In conclusion, to achieve self-determination under normal conditions, in a truly legal way, on the basis of the international law and not in accordance with the wish or the interests that run counter to this law, the effects of cancelling the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact should be real and complete, namely that Bessarabia and North Bukovina must be reunited with Romania in a peaceful way, in accordance with the CSCE Helsinki Final Act, which permits the modification of frontiers in Europe on the basis of negotiations (as was the case of Germany and the Baltic states).

Of similar importance is also the thesis according to which, in the present case, the right to self-determination is indissolubly connected with another imprescriptible right of the Romanian people—the right to have its territories returned, territories which were torn away by force and the threat of force in 1940 on the basis of the above mentioned pact, which was condemned by the international community and annulled even by the USSR itself. The principle recognized by all the judicial systems in the world is that, it is not permitted that by exercising a certain right one should seriously affect another right, or more than that, cancel another right. Therefore, the right to self-determination in this case is valid only when it does not affect, on the contrary, when it confirms the right of the Romanian people to the recuperation of the national territory taken away by force, a territory that includes the ones "distributed" by the USSR to other countries (such as Ukraine). The act of consulting with the Bessarabian and Bukovinian people should be done within these legal limits, to repair a historical injustice committed against the Romanian people.

In other words, the right to self-determination in this case is subordinated to the right of the Romanian nation, including Bessarabians and Bukovinians, to regain its territory taken away through aggression and to reestablish its national unity. The aforementioned aggression in 1940 generated a "new state" (the Socialist Soviet Republic of Moldova, which was a juridical fiction), a fact that makes the issue of self-determination be brought up for discussion. The self-determination cannot result in the validation of the result of the aggression committed in 1940, by creating or reconfirming a "new state;" it can only result in the negation of the act of force and the elimination of its consequences, respectively, by returning to the borders Romania had before 26 June 1940.

Other juridical conditions for self-determination are the respect for the rights of ethnic minorities who live in Bessarabia and North Bukovina, as fundamental human rights, the way they are sanctioned in valid international documents.

It is impossible to invoke territorial integrity of the dominant power when the issue is to free a people and a territory occupied by force.

A referendum cannot be organized under foreign occupation. The Republic of Moldova is still under foreign occupation, even if there is pretense of a certain level of independence, which however does not have the real aspect of a true political independence.

The issue of national liberation movements, such as the Popular Front of Moldova, is a matter of international rights. These movements have the right to political, moral, and material assistance and the UN member states are duty bound to grant such an assistance, which does not mean interference in domestic affairs.

If the occupants or their instruments attempt to suppress with armed force the liberation movements, such a confrontation is not a civil war but a purely international conflict. The population that opposes such reprisals is in a legitimate defense.

The government [illegible] failed to act on the basis of the rules of aforemen[illegible] international law, which are clearly favorable to the Romanian nation in regaining its national territories, but both through individual actions—the treaty with the USSR signed last spring—as well as through its political position, the government endangers the return of those territories to Romania. The Romanian people should not tolerate such an attitude.

In connection with the above, we ask the government:

1. To make a public declaration in which to express clearly its position as far as Bessarabia, North Bukovina, and the other territories are concerned, territories which were occupied in 1940, as a result of an unprovoked act of force of the former USSR; the declaration should based on the right to self-determination as it can be found in the written regulations of the United Nations and on the basis of the whole Romanian nation's right to regain the territories that belong to it de jure.

2. To start urgent consultations with political factors in the Republic of Moldova to work out joint actions aimed at the peaceful elimination of all consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 23 August 1939.

3. To attempt discussions with the new authorities of the Union of Sovereign States in order to clarify these problems.

4. To issue a public declaration, at the moment when the Ukraine becomes independent (most probably on 1 December 1991) in which it should be mentioned that North Bukovina, Hertsa District, the former counties of Hotin, Cetatea Alba, and Ismail as well as the Island of Snakes were taken away from Romania by the USSR through force and illegally included in the Ukrainian State. They will have to be returned to Romania in a peaceful way, following certain negotiations.

5. To inform the Romanian Embassies of the UN Security Council member countries those countries that are signatories to the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE, about the aforementioned situation and also inform the European and world public opinion and request the necessary understanding and assistance.

Bucharest-Kishinev Association Protest

AU2911210691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1937 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1991—The president of the Bucharest-Chisinau [Kishinev] Cultural Association, Mr. Gavrila Copil, accused the USSR that "it continues to keep Bessarabia, Bukovina and Herta Land under occupation." At a joint meeting of the Democratic Opposition Cartel and of the Bucharest-Chisinau Cultural Association, held in Bucharest on Friday [29 November], Mr. Copil asked that the denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact expand also over Bessarabia so that that part of Romania be brought back to the motherland. The speaker accused the government of having taken no measure and no attitude for the bringing of Bessarabia back to Romania and criticized the Romanian-Soviet treaty. Mr. Copil accused also the Ukraine for trying to make the same imperialist policy as Moscow, occupying part of the Romanian territory of Bessarabia. In the end a telegram addressed to the Ukrainean president was read demanding that his country renounce the Bessarabian territories.

Group in Solidarity With Bukovina

AU3011200691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1806 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/11/1991—The participants in the founding congress of the Union of Bukovinian Romanians launched to the governments of the Union of Sovereign States and Germany appeals whereby they ask them to contribute to the peaceful elimination of the consequences of the baleful Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

At the close of the proceeding held in Radauti, the participants also endorsed a motion of solidarity with the Romanians in Northern Bukovina which reads inter alia: "We consider the whole of Bukovina as Romanian land where the Romanians are at home and we therefore demand that the Romanians in northern Bukovina benefit full fundamental rights. At the same time, we campaign for peaceful and harmonious coexistence among the ethnical groups of Bukovina and for the full recognition of their specific rights."

The congress welcomed the solemn statement of Romania's Parliament on the December 1 referendum in the Ukraine.

Patriarch Issues Appeal

AU2911210991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1991—The Romanian Metropolitan Church released on Friday [29 November] a communique showing that his Beatitude Teoctist, Romania's patriarch, addressed a new Christian appeal on November 29 to the sister Christian churches and to the executives of the international Christian organizations. The appeal makes the request that an intervention be made to the governments in the respective countries that, in the event of recognizing the Ukraine Republic, the Romanian territories be excluded, namely Northern Bukovina, Herta Land, Hotin Land and Southern Bessarabia which have been torn from the motherland and annexed by force by Stalin through the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Talks With Hungary

AU2711210891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1957 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/11/1991—Referring to the consultations on consular problems held in Budapest, on November 18-19, between the Romanian and the Hungarian Foreign Ministries, Traian Chebeleu, the spokesman for the Romanian Foreign Ministry, said at the Wednesday, November 27 press conference, that the conclusion of a governmental convention was agreed on in principle, as regards the opening of new crossing points, and consular issues. The representatives of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry said once again they were willing to open a general consulate of Hungary at Cluj and forms of consular representation at Timisoara, Sibiu, Brasov and Tirgu Mures.

The Romanian representatives raised the problem of the inadequate way Romanian citizens temporarily present in Hungary have been treated by the Hungarian police and customs authorities, a treatment that many times can be termed as "abusive" and which often disregard the law. Cases were mentioned when Romanian citizens were detained for a long time, sometimes for more than a year, without being told by what they infringed upon

the law and being sent to court, when the offences are confirmed. The demarches the Romanian authorities made to the Hungarian police have been inefficient, as a rule, although the bilateral consular convention clearly stipulates the duties of the parties as regards the arresting of the citizens of one of the parties. Cases were also presented, when police authorities unjustifiedly resorted to physical violence against Romanian citizens, took their passports for obscure reasons and abusively asked them to police quarters, for days and even weeks running, during which they had no place to sleep and nothing to eat.

The Hungarian representative were also told about cases when police and customs officials ordered that goods and money be confiscated from Romanian citizens, without explaining why.

The Hungarian representatives, said Mr. Chebeleu, did not comment on the situations they were told of, and said they would clarify them and inform the Romanian Embassy in Budapest about the results of the inquiries and the measures taken.

Discusses Danish Aid, Trade With EC

AU2811112391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2152 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/11/1991— Mr. Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for the Romanian Foreign Ministry said at his Wednesday, November 27 news conference, that Christian Hoppe, director for Central and Eastern Europe and CSCE in Denmark's Ministry of Foreign Affairs had closed his visit to Romania. The visit was an opportunity that concrete measures be taken for Denmark to grant support and assistance to Romania, in fields such as agriculture, livestock breeding, power production,treatment of residual waters, pharmaceutical and chemical industry, etc.

Mr. Chebeleu added that negotiations were closed and a protocol on mining and steel production was initialed, a few days ago, between Romania and the European Economic Community of coal and steel. The protocol stipulates that the two parties grant each other the most favoured nation status and pledge to grant each other the highest degree of liberalisation as far as imports from third countries are concerned, while observing the GATT stipulations. After the protocol is put into force, the Romanian export of steel products will be applied a liberal regime, with no restrictions in point of quantities, on all EEC markets. At the same time the initialed protocol opens the access of Romania to a number of financial sources of the European Economic Community of coal and steel, to back the restructuring of the mining and steel producing branches.

Mr. Chebeleu equally mentioned that negotiations were being held at Rabat, of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Morocco, the first document of this kind under negotiations with an Arab country, which confirms once again the wide opening of Romania towards the Arab world.

Mr. Chebeleu announced that a new round of talks would be conducted in Bucharest over December 2-4, on the treaty of understanding, cooperation and good neighbourliness between Romania and Germany.

On November 24, Adrian Dohotaru, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, started a diplomatic tour in Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Aspects will be tackled of the development of cultural relations between Romania and these countries.

Iliescu Addresses National Day Event 30 Nov

AU3011150491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1401 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/11/1991—On the national day of Romania—the first of December—President Ion Iliescu met on September [as received] 30 at the Cotroceni Palace in Bucharest with parliament members, a wide circle of politicians, men of culture, representatives of public opinion.

After the state anthem was played, in the impressive Union Hall, Romania's president made an address on the importance of the moment, stressing that the Romanians celebrate "the national day of Romania, a day that recalls and will evoke for ever, as Nicolae Iorga [Romanian historian] put it, the most important deed in our people's history." [passage omitted]

Discusses National Day, Constitution

AU3011201091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1802 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/11/1991—It is known that the fact accomplished on December 1, 1918 was vehemently contested by certain forces, and our statal unity was torn apart by cruel injustice, truth and international law being thus seriously violated both in 1940 and afterwards, stated Romania's President Ion Iliescu in an address he made Saturday during the meeting at Bucharest's Cotroceni Palace on the anniversary of Romania's national day.

Yet time has proved that nobody and nothing can change what was spiritually built at Alba Iulia.

The belief that the great union is something natural and definite is quite clear from all the actions taken by outstanding Romanian personalities who dedicated it their mind and deeds. So, a conspicuous detail of the preparations for the great national union at Alba Iulia is told by Enea Grapini: Vasile Goldis was suggesting the union with the Kingdom of Romania, we maintain the formula the union with Romania because we think a kingdom is something ephemeral, while Romania is eternal.

Indeed, on December 1, 1918 Vasile Goldis submitted the proposal for "the union of those Romanians and of the territories they inhabited with Romania" to the Great National Assembly for approval.

We do not want to turn from oppressed into oppressors, said Iuliu Maniu on the same occasion. The truth of his words was strengthened by meetings, motions and resolutions of the minorities' representatives like those of the Saxons, Swabians or the Jews in Transylvania, which proved "adherence to the December 1 act with our hearts and with much satisfaction."

The Romanians' two-millennia-old past also includes periods when everything seemed lost and, then, unexpectedly, the wheel of history turned so as to bring full victory. The years 1918 or 1989 are such moments. In the same sequence of ideas it is well to consider even the present and the near future.

At the beginning of 1918, though undefeated in the battlefield, Romania seemed definitely crushed down. Documents of the Romanian Army's headquarters dated December 1, 1917 had in view the possibility of the Romanian Army's and administration's withdrawal to within the territory of Russia if Moldova, the only unoccupied Romanian land, would have been lost.

The proclamation of Bessarabia's independence in January and its union with the country on March 27, 1918 was the first sign that history was subject to ideas and not to force. Then, Bukovina, another Romanian territory, united with the country. On December 1, Transylvania joined the motherland and so all the Romanian territories formed a single unitary national state.

December 1989 marked another turning point. Once again did the Romanians show they were a people for which freedom, dignity and democracy are fundamental national values.

In only a couple of days we shall go to the polls to state our opinion, as Romanian citizens, on Romania's constitution, also said Romania's President Ion Iliescu in his address at Cotroceni Palace on Saturday. The text submitted to the referendum is an outcome of long debates held with passion and bona fide by the representatives of all the political groupings represented to the Constituent Assembly. Romania's new constitution sanctions the process begun in December 1989 and it is a guarantee for the country's development in a state of law, toward democracy and a market economy.

To consult citizens on the text of the constitution is an expression of societal democracy we are jointly building, is a natural process enshrined even in the country's new fundamental law. According to it, the problems of national importance can be submitted to the people's judgment, the only direct way of expressing its sovereignty.

Iliescu, Stolojan Attend National Day Ceremonies

AU0112165291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1546 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1991—Sunday morning the wreath-laying ceremony took place at the Unknown Hero Memorial in the Liberty Park in Bucharest city on December 1, Romania's national day. The attendance included President Ion Iliescu, the president of the Senate, the speaker of the Assembly of deputies, ministers, deputies and senators, representatives of political parties and formations, of religious denominations, war veterans, personalities of the cultural and scientific life, members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest, a large number of Bucharest citizens.

Romania's national anthem was played.

Wreaths of flowers were laid by President Ion Iliescu, by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, by representatives of the government, of ministries and central institutions, of political parties, of religious denominations, as well as by war veterans.

The ceremony concluded with the parade of the guard of honour.

The events in Alba Iulia:

On Sunday, December 1, ample homage-paying events took place in Alba Iulia, the stronghold of the great union of all Romanians, devoted to the great event.

Representatives of the prefectures all over the country, Romanians from Bessarabia and Bukovina, people of all ages from that county as well as from Muntenia [Walachia], Dobrogea, Oltenia, Banat, Moldavia, Maramures and from all Romanian regions came to pay their homage to that holy day.

Present were Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, representatives of the parliament, of the presidential institution, of religious denominations and of the Armed Forces, of political formations.

After Romania's national anthem had been played, in front of the statue of Michael the Brave near the Union Hall, wreaths of flowers were laid on behalf of the presidency, parliament, the government, the Ministry of National Defence, the Army in Transylvania, the local administration, of war veterans, religious denominations, cultural and scientific institutions, economic and social units.

Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the Military High-School named after the great prince—Michael the Brave.

The rally in Alba Iulia was opened by Mr. Artenie Barb, prefect of Alba County, who made reference to the special significance of the event, to all those having fought with faith and heroism for the great union of the Romanian nation. Alba Iulia has always been and will be for ever Romania's symbol and heart, he said. Further he

underscored that the longing for union is still alive in all Romanians' hearts, the homage paid to our ancestors being at the same time a sign of all Romanians' confidence and hope in the country's future.

Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan underscored the fact he was addressing the Romanian citizens present in Alba Iulia, the citizens all over Romania, as well as the Romanians everywhere, emphasising inter alia: "We are again in Alba Iulia to commemorate December 1, the birthday of the Romanian modern state. We are here today to say that we still consider as alive the declaration of 73 years ago whereby the minorities in this country were announced they had the same rights as the Romanian people and the other peoples were announced that Romania wanted to live together with all of them in peace, sincere friendship and good neighbourhood."

Further, the Romanian prime minister stressed that December 1 can be properly celebrated now owing to an important event in Romania's recent history—the December 22, 1989 revolution—which in its turn "cost the blood of other martyrs."

In his capacity of prime minister, Mr. Theodor Stolojan reasserted that his government's mission was to continue the programme of democratising Romanian society, of economic reforms to build the state of law and the market economy. "I think this action is the only rational option for the Romanian people, because the political freedom and the economic freedom are inseparable. Only democracy and the market economy could ensure the economic relaunching, political and social stability we all wish so much. We all know very well that the difficulties—both in the economic activity and in the standard of living—will still continue in the near future. But there is no more adequate place than here in Alba Iulia and now to tell the whole country that the government's major concern is to ensure social protection in keeping with the possibilities of the national economy and without hampering the economic reform."(...) "my wish and belief is that December 1, 1992 will find us with more confidence in our own powers and in Romania's destiny," the Romanian premier said in conclusion.

Mr. Ionel Roman, in his capacity as representative of the Romanian Parliament, emphasised in his address that the recent voting of the Constitution had a special significance for the homeland's and the Romanian people's unity. Owing to its stipulations the country's fundamental law confers a special sense upon Romania's present history, reasserting and sanctioning by the power of supreme law that Romanians live in a national, unitary, democratic state of law.

The commander of the local garrison, Colonel Viorel Birloiu, stressed the idea that the Romanians' victory on December 1, 1918 was the result of their fight and not the gift given by some forces from outside the Romanian nation. He paid homage to all the military dead for Romania's union, the Romanian soldier being one of the heroes and martyrs for the reunion of the Romanian nation. The Armed Forces, the speaker said, have always been and will be for ever the guarantee of the country's interests, the defender of the Romanians' national freedom and dignity.

Addresses were also made by the rector of "December 1" University in Alba Iulia, Prof. Paul Iuliu, and senator of Alba, Ioan Rus.

In front of the cathedral of the nation's reunification in Alba Iulia the Metropolitan of Ardeal [Transylvania], Antonie Plamadeala, together with Bishops Andrei of Alba and Irineu of Vad, Feleac and Cluj assisted by a group of priests officiated a te deum attended by the thousands of Romanians come to pay their homage to the great day of great Romania.

Stolojan Says Parties Agree on Reform Course

AU0212092991 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 27 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan by Irinel Radulescu on 22 November; place not given: "The Front Supports the Decisions I Have Made, Because I Am a Promoter of the Reform"]

[Excerpts] [Radulescu] Do you believe that the image of the government has been affected by the fact that the opposition ministers voted against the Constitution?

[Stolojan] No, on the contrary. [passage omitted] First of all, a minister is a public functionary who, at the same time, is a political party member. As a deputy or senator, he votes in accordance with his own or his party's convictions. [passage omitted]

[Radulescu] The Stolojan cabinet has assumed the task of organizing free and correct elections. Can the fact that the minister of justice has voted against the Constitution guarantee the objectivity of the elections?

[Stolojan] Many people voted against the Constitution. However, all these people said that they would observe it. If you listened carefully to the reasons that various parliamentarians voted against the Constitution, then you would have noted that the reasons varied. [passage omitted] The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania has clear cut interests and consequently thought that these were not appropriately reflected. The National Liberal Party [PNL] has its own problems linked to the separation of powers; however no one denies the Constitution as a whole, even if they voted against it. An ideal constitution from every point of view cannot be achieved. For myself it is very clear that this constitution differs essentially from the one of the past; it means a big step forward and this is a good thing for our country.

[Radulescu] Do you have the impression that the liberals have set to work in their new position of government

members? Do you feel you have to mediate between two political lines: The liberal one and that of the National Salvation Front [FSN]?

[Stolojan] So far I have not had the impression that there are political parties in the government. The government members have cooperated in the decisionmaking process. The PNL representatives have actually helped make decisions. The economic reform pursues certain objectives that are incontestable. What matters is the way you approach the implementation of these decisions. However, there have not been particular problems so far.

[Radulescu] Taking stock of the Roman government, what are the revenues and what are the costs of the new Stolojan cabinet?

[Stolojan] It is difficult to answer this question. [passage omitted] First, what we should know is what was taken over on 22 December 1989. There are already some studies in this respect. Second, one should know exactly what happened in this period and the effect of objective factors should be separated from that of certain decisions that were made in the respective period. By objective factors I mean the disintegration of the whole CEMA system, which represented 50 percent of Romania's exports and imports. This system disappeared overnight. [passage omitted]

Then there is Iraq. Has anyone come up with an exact assessment of what Iraq means for Romania? There are a number of things to be done for which I have no time. [passage omitted]

Now there is the problem of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is a serious trading partner for Romania. Much good does it do me that a country like Finland or Sweden observes the economic sanctions. They have no trade relations with Yugoslavia, while for Romania this problem is another economic shock. It is one thing to be located at the end of the world and another to be Yugoslavia's neighbor and share hydropower plants... [passage omitted]

[Radulescu] Are you not afraid that you may be suspected of putting off your involvement in the governing process given the fact that you are going to New York?

[Stolojan] No. I do not think so. The reform has its objectives which, I believe, no party dares change.

[Radulescu] Not even the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM]?

[Stolojan] Not even the PSM. The people will throw it out if it dares change the trend of this reform. The way to achieve these objectives may certainly vary from one party to another, but the trend, the direction can no longer be changed.

[Radulescu] Thus there is no way to return...

[Stolojan] None. To turn back would mean Romania's isolation. A complete one. [passage omitted] To turn back now would mean an even more terrible isolation than during Ceausescu's time. [passage omitted]

[Radulescu] At his last news conference, President Iliescu said that the Stolojan government shows courage, competence, coherence, seriousness, and professionalism. However, when you count them, many of the ministers are the same ones. Who is it who has added all these additional qualities to which the president referred?

[Stolojan] Each person is free to make whatever assessments he thinks fit. If you ask me, this government has a few advantages over the Roman government. It represents a change. And, as in the case of any change, people hope for the better. This government is working in a more relaxed way. Not in the sense that it does not feel responsible, but in the sense that it knows full well that it was formed during a government crisis and that its mandate continues only up to the general elections; consequently, since I do not have to worry about my political image, I am able to judge things without any political implication. [passage omitted]

[Radulescu] You are not interested in your political image and you believe that this also applies to the other government members. I will quote just one example: Mr. I. V. Sandulescu does not neglect his political image or that of the party by any means.

[Stolojan] It is normal for a person belonging to a party to be interested in his political image. We may talk of an interaction. It is more difficult for me than for Roman. I am fully responsible for a decision. I have no party behind me. The Front has proposed me and I have no doubt that it actually supports the decisions I have made so far—and this is understandable. When it proposed me, the Front knew that I was a man who pursues reform and that I was not going to depart from the Frnot's objectives. [passage omitted]

[Radulescu] ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO of 19-20 October affirms that "parliamentary hysteria has also penetrated Government headquarters"; it interpreted your statement at the first news conference, namely that "one should not joke with the nationality problem," as a "disguised threat." It is also said that you were against the setting up of a ministry of minorities. Are these "accusations" founded?

[Stolojan] During the negotiations with the parties in connection with the formation of the government, I became concerned about the great number of proposals for new ministries, for splitting, merging, or transferring activities or departments from one ministry to another, everything in the desire to create new positions for ministers. But that was not this government's mission. Realizing that the ministry of minorities is a different problem, I discussed it with all political parties. None of the political parties supported the idea of setting up such a ministry.

[Radulescu] What about the "disguised threat?"

[Stolojan] I am afraid that the message we issued on 21 November will be interpreted in a distorted way (I am talking of the Romanian Government Declaration on Ethnic Minorities). There is no reason for them to feel threatened. However, as far as territorial integration is concerned, things are very clear for me and I think for every Romanian citizen. One can talk about anything except about the problem of taking away certain territories or what is called the state's national entity. There are "Romanian citizens" who say that Romania will be a sort of Yugoslavia. I will guarantee that during these months of Stolojan's government such a thing is not going to happen. He who is of a different opinion think it over carefully. I have no reticence in taking the necessary measures at the first sign of any such possible move.

[Radulescu] Mr. Prime Minister, today, 22 November 1991, what is your diagnosis for the Romanian economy; what "treatment do you prescribe," and what are the chances after this "treatment?"

[Stolojan] I assess things in light of the mandate this government has. I think that during this period it is essential to stabilize the energy problem, to immediately clarify the bread problem, and to apply the measures aimed at accelerating a number of restructuring processes, which are speeded up by life itself. You will see that the unification of exchange rates will reveal a number of truths. I will just cite the problem of paper as an example. [passage omitted] But let us return to our subject.... I think that, from the point of view of energy, the situation is stable over the winter at least up to the end of April. However, as far as enterprise contracts are concerned, I cannot do anything. He who has contracts has work and the one who has none becomes a social security case. The trouble in our country is that we cannot separate social security from economic activity.

And this mess will continue unless we separate them. If no negative incidents—such as those in September—occur, the situation can be managed, so that the standard of living will not get worse. People judge what is happening to the standard of living, without examining what is happening in the production process. As long as outputs decrease, the standard of living cannot be the desired one. Then you have to resort to foreign loans, to something.... To return to our subject, our immediate task is to stabilize the situation, so as to permit us to ensure almost normal conditions for the winter, after which our economy, our production should not decrease for one or two years. Next year is a crucial year for agriculture in the sense that the change, those new structures have to be achieved, so that we may start off full blast. And, of course, if agriculture recovers then we may even have products for export. Meanwhile, cooperation in various fields continues. I want to quote an example: Turceni- Rovinari is being retechnologized in cooperation with the Germans. Things are beginning to take shape and in the next two years they will clearly and positively influence the economy. All this is not necessarily just the merit of the Stolojan government. Most of these actions were begun during the Roman government. The decisive thing I have done now is to untangle certain situations that had come to a standstill because of financial and administrative blockages.

[Radulescu] Objectively speaking, how many years will we have to wait to reap the fruits of this reform?

[Stolojan] We will need some 5-6 years before these mechanisms and the structural reforms begin to yield results. This also depends to a great extent on the participation of foreign capital with the help of which our economy will gradually become competitive. The process of becoming competitive will, of course, take 10-15 years. And there is another problem: We have resources and we have to prevent them from being squandered. As for the rest, if we are faced with two-three miners' actions... then we have to bear the cross we deserve.

[Radulescu] You have said that calling on people to work is not effective any more. What will make people work?

[Stolojan] The system. He who is not in step with the pace and the productivity has to be eliminated from the system. At this point, such a thing is not happening. One person is someone's relation, the other knows someone, the leadership is in the hands of the trade unions.... Things cannot go on like this.

[Radulescu] Does the government have a direction of action to perform this "elimination from the system?"

[Stolojan] Sure. Only one cannot do everything overnight. What do these eliminations mean? Bankruptcy, dismissals.... It is difficult to tell people all this. But the problem is clear: An enterprise that does not produce has to reduce its activity. Otherwise—aside from wages—it consumes resources for products that do not sell.

[Radulescu] Petre Roman refused to talk in the street with Miron Cosma, who was dressed as miner in a provocative way. You agreed to talk in an office with Miron Cosma, who was dressed like a dandy. Does this mean a concession on the part of Romania's prime minister or a reconsideration of the conduct of the country's first miner?

[Stolojan] I do not believe that this is a change in the attitude of the government. The incident in September was an outright disaster for Romania's domestic and external situation. The effects on the economy were extremely negative. At the same time, when I talked to the miners, my problem was that I had to take measures in the shortest possible time. However, in the given situation it was more important to do all I could to calm things down and avoid any source for a potential social conflict. This was the only reason that made me meet the miners, contrary to some advice I was given. I told the miners clearly how I viewed their problems. They let me know their viewpoints. Rejecting a dialogue would not

have helped, I think. That was all. There is always room for speculation, but after this meeting with the Jiu Valley miners we knew what action to take.

[Radulescu] Thank you.

Stolojan on Lei Convertibility, Economic Reform

LD3011224991 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 2015 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpt] When the Jiu Valley miners precipitated the September fall of Petre Roman, head of the Bucharest government, some people looked with expectation to Theodor Stolojan, the former finance minister who left the government because of Petre Roman. The first measures taken by the new prime minister, such as making the lei convertible, turned out to be a fiasco. Prices rose suddenly, but it proved impossible to start the economy. First, let us listen to the Romanian head of government:

[Begin recording] [Stolojan in Romanian, with superimposed Hungarian translation] We are now in the situation...[changes thought] What represents the greatest danger for us now is that we have only taken half measures.

[Unidentified correspondent] You could not agree with Petre Roman last year.

[Stolojan] Not really. We did, in fact, understand each other, but each of us had his own opinion.

[Correspondent] Have you now achieved what you wanted?

[Stolojan] Look, I think that, for example, in the sphere of privatization, we are on the right path, and this is not all we have achieved. As you see, the Romanian economy is now struggling with numerous problems, but we are supervising the processes. What does this mean? It means that the wave of inflation has not rocketed to the stars. I would like us—and this is one of my fundamental aims—to be able to continue supervising inflation amid such difficult circumstances, when production is declining. This was one of the aims we set.

[Correspondent] Is this why you wanted to make the lei convertible?

[Stolojan] This was one of our aims. Reforms cannot continue without this.

[Correspondent] Is it worth making the lei convertible in such a way?

[Stolojan] It was worth it. There is no possibility for any kind of economic reform in Romania if we do not make the lei convertible. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Energy Situation in 1991 'Worst Ever'

AU0212104091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1345 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/11/1991—Romania's energy situation this year is the worst ever, was the conclusion of a programme broadcast by the Romanian Television in its economic studio on Tuesday, November 26.

The cause behind that troublesome situation, according to the participants in the programme (the president of the Electricity Autonomous Unit, Aurel Leca, the assistant director-general of the National Energy Department, Ion Uluescu, and the assistant director-general of the General Planning Division, Ion Tudor Ionescu) is the failure to secure the necessary energy resources on time considering that fuel (coal and fuel coal) stocks are created starting April for the winter to come. All intimations notwithstanding, there are now arrears in the deliveries of lignite (5 million tons) and pit coal from the Jiu Valley and, as for fuel coal, the situation is the most difficult, the arrears amounting to 1.8 million tons, because of the hard-currency shortage in the first place. The situation is more difficult than last year also in point of the natural gas supply.

Although more generator sets were put on line than in previous years, the fuel shortage rendered a capacity of 1,650 MW in the national electric grid system unoperational, which maintained an uncorresponding frequency of electric current of only 48.6 HZ. Which tended to drop further leaving a number of large industrial energy consumers without electricity.

The immediate perspective is given by a recent government decision to supply substantial hard currency funds for energy imports to live through the winter. A vessel carrying 55,000 tons of fuel oil arrived at the Port of Constanta and it will be followed by others.

In the period to follow hopes are pinned on the technological reequipment over the next two years of the thermoelectric stations at Rovinari and Turceni in cooperation with the German concern ABB-Asea Brown Bovary and the use of the price lever to save electricity in industry. In this respect, it was pointed out that the new energy price was set at 9,50 lei per KWH and 2,373 per GCL in industry, in line with international prices. This will clarify a number of aspects concerning the exaggerated energy consumption as well as the inefficiency of many segments of consumers.

The participants in the programme pointed out that the population's consumption throughout winter will be given priority over any other consumers.

International

Milosevic, Jovanovic Receive Soviet Ambassador

AU2711160291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Gennadiy Shikin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia, has visited Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

Yugoslav-Soviet and Serbian-Soviet relations were positively assessed. Joint interest and desire were stressed for these relations and cooperation to develop in the spirit of traditional friendship.

On that occasion, the Soviet ambassador was given an explanation of Serbia's stands regarding the Yugoslav state and political crisis and efforts in halting armed conflicts in Croatia and in overcoming the crisis by political means, it is said in the announcement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia.

Milosevic, Greek Prime Minister Hold Briefing

AU2911144291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Report by Zoran Jevdjovic]

[Text] Shortly before 1500 GMT, a special Olympic Airways plane landed at Belgrade airport in which Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis arrived in Belgrade after visiting Romania.

The Greek Prime Minister, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras and State Minister Mikis Theodhorakis, was first welcomed at the airport by Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbia. As has already been announced, the Greek prime minister arrived in Yugoslavia as a neighbor and a friend, as well as a prime minister of an EC member country that is especially interested in a resolution the Yugoslav crisis.

At a news conference in Bucharest this morning, Prime Minister Mitsotakis stated that he had assumed the duty of informing the EC prime ministers on the talks that he was going to hold in Belgrade.

Immediately on his arrival, Prime Minister Mitsotakis visited the Presidency of Serbia, where he was welcomed by President Slobodan Milosevic. During a fairly long, cordial, and friendly conversation, they broached the most topical issues concerning bilateral relations, that is to say, the possibilities of improving bilateral cooperation. As expected, they devoted special attention to the Yugoslav crisis and the latest initiatives that concern this crisis. After the talks, the guest and the host held a joint news conference in front of several dozen domestic and foreign reporters.

Addressing the reporters, President Milosevic expressed special satisfaction at having had the opportunity to speak to Prime Minister Mitsotakis, who visited Belgrade as a neighbor and friend, and with whom he shared the view that friendship between Serbia and Greece is a significant factor for stability in the Balkans. President Milosevic stressed that during their talks they expressed identical views on many outstanding issues and that he hoped that this would contribute to further overall positive development in cooperation between the two countries, to which the talks between Serbian and Greek businessmen, that were held at the same time as the talk between the leaders of the two countries, should also contribute.

Prime Minister Mitsotakis expressed satisfaction with the fact that he was able to exchange views with the president of a neighboring and friendly country with which Greece has many historic links, and whose present situation affects Greece. Talks were held about cooperation in all spheres and about the burning issues, Mitsotakis said, stressing that he had expressed Athens' stand that could briefly described as an endeavor to preserve the unity of Yugoslavia, even if only in the form of a loose federation.

In connection with this, Greece welcomes the initiative concerning the deployment of the UN blue helmets in Yugoslavia. However, this requires a permanent truce after which a peace process with the goal of finding a just solution could be set in motion. It is only natural that Greece wants to stress its special stand on the Yugoslav issue among the Balkan countries. Since I know the situation better than the others, Mitsotakis stressed, I am committed to act as a mediator.

Answering reporters' questions, Prime Minister Mitsotakis stressed, among other things, that Greece wants to take part in the peace keeping forces, and that his impression was that the crisis is at the stage when better prospects could be opened. According to him, it would not be beneficial to talk about the recognition of some republics in Yugoslavia nor the sanctions against others at present.

President Slobodan Milosevic also answered reporters' questions. He stressed that possibilities for a compromise for all those who want peace do exist. However, all those who were familiar with the situation know that the UN peacekeeping forces should be deployed where the clashes are taking place, because their goal is to preserve peace. The clash, as known, is not on the administrative borders of the Yugoslav republics, but in parts of Croatia with areas of Serbian population. In this sense, President Milosevic expressed the hope that the EC will observe its own principles and that it will not recognize unilateral acts.

Regarding the UN forces, President Milosevic stressed that they can in no way be considered foreign occupying forces and that there is a significant difference between the UN forces and possible military forces of the EC,

considering that Yugoslavia is not a member of the EC but is a member of the United Nations.

As announced, the Greek delegation will end its visit to Belgrade late tonight and leave for Athens.

Croatia, Libya Agree To Open Consultates

LD2911104291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—"The sympathies of the Libyan leader and of the Libyan people are on the Croatian side," Jurica Pavelic, deputy prime minister of Croatia, has stated.

The recently appointed deputy prime minister returned from his first visit to a foreign country and stated to journalists that the Libyan Jamahiriya will open a consulate in Zagreb, while Croatia will open an office in Tripoli.

According to Pavelic, Libyan leader Qadhdhafi expressed regret that Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia, has not visited Libya.

Italian Ferry Docks in Rijeka With Refugees

AU2911122991 Rome ANSA in English 1018 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] (ANSA) Rijeka, Yugoslavia, November 28—Nearly 900 refugees who survived the ordeal of the 56-day siege of the historic Adriatic port city of Dubrovnik disembarked today in this northern Yugoslav port at the end of a calm passage aboard the Italian ferry Palladio.

The evacuation operation was completed with the Adriatica Societa ferry, requisitioned by the Italian ministries for foreign affairs, immigration, and civil protection, on a course through the humanitarian channel opened up earlier this month by Immigration Minister Margherita Boniver, French Secretary of State for Human Rights Bernard Kouchner and United Nations Childrens Fund official Staffan de Mistura.

The Palladio left Dubrovnik yesterday with 879 refugees aboard, mostly women and children, who were assisted en route by teams of Italian volunteers, Red Cross nurses and two military doctors, and were welcomed here by friends and relatives and social and charity organizations.

The coordinator of the mission, Massimo Saraz, an Immigration Ministry official, reported that the voyage of the Palladio had been a hastily organized affair because of last Monday's deadline laid down by Serbian forces and the Serbian-led federal Army (?for) the surrender of Dubrovnik.

He noted, however, that the ferry had time to take on a bigger cargo of emergency aid for the battered city because gale-force winds of up to 110 kilometers per hour in the northern Adriatic Monday forced a delay in departure.

Saraz said a significant feature of the evacuation was that it was the first completed by a civilian craft, a ferry which linked Italy and Dubrovnik in the past, and could signal a normalization process and provide an opening for humanitarian missions undertaken by other European countries. The three Italian ministries involved, he said, are in constant contact with Yugoslav federal authorities for this purpose.

Another member of the team of coordinators, Margherita Paolini of the Foreign Ministry's crisis unit, pointed out that other Italian operations were going ahead outside the spotlight for the assistance of Serbs and Croats, without discrimination.

The figures on all (?the Croatian) refugee victim of more than four months of civil war, said Paolini, are (?83,500) on the Dalmatian coast, 50,000 around Zagreb, another 65,000 on the Istrian peninsula and 23,000 Croats now in Slovenia. There are an estimated 123,000 Serbian refugees in Serbia, 50,000 in Vojvodina, and 47,000 in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The ministry officials said Italy has contingency plans for hosting up to 20,000 Yugoslav refugees in existing facilities but hopes this figure is not reached.

There are now some 2,000 war refugees who arrived in Italy's northeastern regions via earlier humanitarian operations, including those completed by the Italian naval hospital and relief ship San Marco.

The Italian mission coordinators also had words of praise for the Italo-Swedish UNICEF official who acted as mediator in talks between Croatian forces in the besieged port and the Serb-led Army to firm up the truce and keep the humanitarian corridor open.

Saraz said the negotiations will continue to gain time for further humanitarian missions. This is a matter of "internationalizing the missions and providing continuity and, on the other hand, of gauging the exodus to gain time while awaiting the UN forces."

In Paris, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said he hoped to see a Security Council green light for a UN peacekeeping force within four, five or six days.

De Mistura said here the humanitarian corridors must be kept open to assure an overland way out of Croatia for Serbian refugees and routes for Croatian refugees out of Serbia, Bosnia and Vojvodina.

It was also learned that calm has been restored to Dubrovnik, that the city's historic center was intact and that life was returning to normal thanks to the arrival of ships carrying relief and flying the flags of Italy, France, Greece and Malta.

Also today, a UNICEF hydrofoil with 47 refugees aboard and the bishop of Dubrovnik, Msgr. Zelimir Pulyic, bound for Bari on Italy's southern Adriatic, was blocked by a Yugoslav warship outside the harbor and escorted to Zelenika, in Montenegro, where the ship and passengers were checked before being allowed to get underway.

The agent in Bari for the hydrofoil's owners, the Atlas Dubrovnika lines, said the boat should arrive in the evening and begin a return voyage tomorrow morning with foodstuffs, medical supplies and other goods gathered by a volunteers association set up in the Italian port. The cargo will include three tons of bottled water, 15,000 fresh eggs for the Dubrovnik hospital, footwear, items of clothing and hygiene supplies for delivery to the Dubrovnik mayor.

Also aboard tomorrow, said the agent, will be the French Government official who reached Bari Saturday [30 November] with 68 refugees from Dubrovnik and a group of reporters.

In Rome, Army General Luigi Federici said if Italian troops join a UN peacekeeping force in Yugoslavia, the Army will send over a field hospital.

Tudjman Meets NATO Assembly Delegation 27 Nov

LD2711154891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia, today received a North Atlantic Assembly delegation, an extraparliamentary organization of 16 NATO alliance member countries, led by Lord Lucas of Chilworth.

As reported by the president's office, the delegation evinced special interest in the steps and measures the Republic of Croatia is taking to bring the war to an end and establish stable relations between the ethnic communities in Croatia and good-neighborly relations in the South Slav area.

President Tudjman stressed that human and minority rights are guaranteed by the Croatian Constitution and confirmed by a special parliamentary declaration on minority rights. Shortly the Croatian parliament will discuss a minority rights bill which specifies these rights in greater detail, he stated. Croatia has accepted the peacekeeping forces that should prevent any future aggression on the Republic of Croatia and help the establishment of a legal system of the Croatian state and the building of confidence between the ethnic communities in crisis areas, he said. In addition, Croatian authorities are vigorously prosecuting the extremists on the Croatian side, through the courts.

In conclusion President Tudjman expressed the wish that after gaining international recognition Croatia may become a member of the North Atlantic community, the statement issued by the president's office says.

Croatian Foreign Minister Urges EC Recognition

LD2911213891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Following today's statement by Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis in the Italian Parliament, Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic said that this statement is very important because it is a continuation of what the Republic of Italy has been doing recently, together with some other member states of the EC.

That the EC as a whole should decide on recognition of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia by Christmas appears to be an increasingly realistic fact, Separovic said. He stressed that the Croatian Government has no reservations about the make-up of peace forces and that it is out of the question to set any conditions regarding which countries should send in their contigents of the peace forces.

Croatian Vice Prime Minister Views Army Accord

LD2811161691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] We have reached an agreement in principle that the Army should leave as soon as possible according to the existing program. The EC mission will strictly adhere to its obligations, Mate Granic, vice president of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, said after his talks with Van Houten [head of the EC observer mission] in Zagreb's Intercontinental Hotel. Dr. Granic described the problems over the last two days surrounding the Army withdrawal from Croatia as an attempt by the Yugoslav Army to gain time since it has neither enough vehicles nor people to complete the withdrawal in such a short period of time. Dr. Granic went on to say that an agreement has also been reached to set up EC observation centers in Osijek, Vinkovci, and Okucani in order to find out who is behind the cease-fire violations. He added that there have been 130 cease-fire violations since the signing of the agreement. The tian side will do its utmost to ensure that the UN peacekeeping forces arrive as soon as possible. Further talks in Geneva will decide where these forces are to be stationed, Granic said.

Representatives of the EC observer mission and of the International Committee of the Red Cross visited a group of prisoners, including Dr. Bosanac [head of Vukovar hospital] and journalist Sinisa Glavasevic [Radio Vukovar reporter]. Efforts are underway to ensure their release, Granic said and added that Ambassador van Houten will go to Split tomorrow but that the signature is being awaited from General Raseta for the return of the EC observers to Dubrovnik.

Slovenia's Rupel Offers Support to UN Troops

AU2711133791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, accompanied by Ignac Golob, visited Mr. Vivenda

Dayal, chief of cabinet to the UN Secretary General. Dr. Rupel and Ignac Golob also visited Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN Secretary General for Yugoslavia. They discussed the situation in Yugoslavia, especially in light of the expected arrival of the UN peace troops in Yugoslavia. As TANJUG reports, Dr. Rupel offered Slovenia's help to the peace troops which would take place in the form of logistic support to the troops. [passage omitted]

Rupel will meet with Barbara Jean McDougall, Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, today.

TANJUG Critical of Hexagonale's Political Move

LD3011181891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 30 (TANJUG)—The fact that Yugoslavia has not been invited to today's meeting of the "Hexagonale" in Venice is viewed in official Yugoslav circles as an attempt at denying Yugoslavia legitimacy and prejudicing future relations in the Yugoslav community before a final solution to the crisis in the country is found.

It is unheard of in international relations that a full member-state of an organization is not invited to participate in meetings of that organization, especially when it, itself, is the main item on the agenda, as official circles in the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat stress.

The same circles recall that Yugoslavia is the chief coordinator, meaning chairman, of the "Hexagonale," an organization whose other members are Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

A meeting of the national coordinators of the "Hexagonale," i.e., ranking Foreign Ministry officials, was originally to be held in Belgrade on October 10 and 11 this year. A day before the meeting was to start, Hungary decided not to send its representative, for which it offered no explanation.

Since it is the "Hexagonale's" principle that no meeting can be held unless all member-states are attending, all other members of the organization cancelled their participation, too.

The national coordinators met in London on November 12 and 13. The meeting was chaired by Yugoslavia's representative.

It has been learned that Italy had planned already then to deny the official Yugoslav delegation the right to represent Yugoslavia, intending to organize in Venice a ministerial meeting of the "Hexagonale" to which it would not invite the Yugoslav foreign secretary but the foreign ministers of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which have unilaterally decided to secede from Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav delegation sharply opposed Italy's intentions, insisting that such a meeting would mean the politicalization of the "Hexagonale," which is not a political organization, and would seriously threaten its goals.

The official Yugoslav stand was reiterated again in Belgrade, where it was communicated to a special envoy of the Italian Foreign Ministry. After the Venice meeting was officially scheduled, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat sent an official protest to the Italian ambassador in Belgrade.

The protest failed to produce any results. Italy was obviously in a hurry to hold the meeting before the EC ministerial meeting in Maastricht, which reflected an abrupt change in official Rome's stand towards Yugoslavia. Just as Bonn and Vienna, Rome is now feverishly urging that Slovenia and Croatia be recognized as soon as possible.

The "Hexagonale" has thus become a distinctly political organization, which is against its basic principles. The question which may be raised in such circumstances is whether it is at all appropriate for Yugoslavia to keep such company.

Federal

Chamber Postpones Markovic Confidence Vote

LD2711183791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 27 November (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber proceeded at its session today to postpone the debate and vote of confidence on Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and his cabinet until its next session, which will be held at the beginning of December.

Prior to this three committees of the Federal Chamber—for sociopolitical relations, for labor and social policy, and for national defense—declared themselves in favor of a vote of no confidence in the federal premier, while the committee for foreign policy assessed that there should not be a vote of no confidence in the FEC president and members of his government now, it was said, because of the possible unfavorable international consequences.

Constitutional Court Says Federation Exists

LD2711192591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1648 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 27 (TANJUG)—President of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia Milovan Buzadzic pointed out today that Yugoslavia was still existing as an international subject within its internationally recognized borders.

Buzadzic told TANJUG that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court as the sole constitutionally competent institution has assessed that the independence acts made by certain republics were anticonstitutional acts of secession.

The northwestern Yugoslav republics Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally proclaimed independence, while the central republic Bosnia-Hercegovina and the southern republic Macedonia proclaimed sovereignty.

Buzadzic added that The Hague conference arbitration commission, in case it wanted to evaluate what had actually happened in legal terms in Yugoslavia, would have to start from the constitutional system of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and from the decisions made by its constitutional court.

The United Nations charter, international law, and even the constitutional system of the SFRY, as Buzadzic stressed, recognize the territorial integrity, not secession, and it would have to be this basis on which the arbitration commission should take its stand towards the "legal aspect of the existence of Yugoslavia in current conditions" as was requested by the Hague conference Chairman Lord Carrington.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, as Buzadzic recalled, asserted that the nations of Yugoslavia do have the right of self-determination, secession included, but they may not exercise this right unilaterally and in violation of the constitution of the SFRY, that is, without consent obtained from all the Yugoslav constituent republics concerning state boundaries.

Buzadzic said the arbitration commission's announced invitation to the republics' representatives arises doubts as to the impartiality of this commission, since it points to an a priori elimination of federal organs and institutions and also of the state of Yugoslavia.

Court Suspends Application of Croatia's Laws

LD2811041191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0255 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today suspended the application of Croatia's 70 or so laws by which that republic regulated some matters under federal competence, invalidated some federal laws and some others took over as its own.

The Federal Executive Council took legal proceedings against a package of laws Croatia's assembly passed early in October this year and that republic's final decision on seceding from Yugoslavia.

Until its ruling on their constitutionality, the Constitutional Court banned as a whole the application of laws in the said package by which Croatia regulated matters within exclusive federal competence, such as passports, movement and stay of foreigners, concluding and carrying out of international contracts, customs, and the like.

Government Takes Monetary Steps Against Slovenia

LD2811172291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 28 (TANJUG)—The government of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic decided today to prevent the negative influence of the Republic of Slovenia on the cash flows in other parts of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia unilaterally proclaimed independence last June and introduced its own monetary unit, the tolar, whereas it has not returned the reserves of the official Yugoslav currency, the dinar, to the Yugoslav Central Bank.

The Yugoslav Government announced that as of today Slovenia might pay its obligations towards other federal units in dinars, but only up to the amount received from the exports of goods and services into other republics.

The government considers that in such a way it will neutralize the influence of the Slovenian dinar payments upon the monetary flows in the republics in which dinar is the only official currency.

Loncar Comments on Own Role, Federation's Future

92BA0157A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 91 pp 8-9

[Article by D. Vucinic detailing comments by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; place and date of comments not given: "We Have Fallen Into Chaos"—first two paragraphs are BORBA introduction]

[Text] In connection with the vote of no confidence in Ante Markovic and Budimir Loncar in a session of the newly reestablished Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of Yugoslavia, we asked the federal secretary for foreign affairs to comment on the event for our newspaper.

Secretary Loncar, the dean among world diplomats and for decades one of the highly esteemed foreign ministers in the circles of this "branch," responded to our request, remarking that what he is saying for our newspaper he has essentially said in the meeting of the Federal Government.

My position and situation, the secretary said, are not only extremely delicate by comparison to most of the members of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] present, but also quite a bit different from theirs.

They differ in that my position, my work, and indeed my entire character have actually been turned into one of the

key points leading to an event which has a much broader background, but also incomparably broader repercussions.

It is certain that it would be easier for me if this were not the case, if it did not concern me and my work, so that now I must speak in this manner, speak about this new event in our country's life which marks a turning point.

First of all, I want to say at once that regardless of how this procedure goes and ends, my departure from the position of federal secretary for foreign affairs is settled.

For me, that is nothing unexpected or new in any case. I have known for a long while that some people have been looking forward to my departure with satisfaction. Still more important, I myself have reflected on it on several occasions and was about to do so.

Self-Denunciation of the Country

The first time I thought about resigning was when our reform, which had been in full swing, began to collapse before the avalanche of political and ethnic passions.

The second time I even prepared a written resignation. This was in the period of the so-called "Slovenian events." You know that I was against the use of force. However, what followed when the Yugoslav Presidency, with its decision to move units of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia to other parts of the SFRY, was for all practical purposes the beginning of amputation of that body as the locus of the country's sovereignty and international statehood. This was a kind of precedent in that the state derogated itself, from within, and that from the highest level.

Even then, I had a presentiment of the chaos into which we would all fall, of the trouble that would begin to control our lives. I had presentiments that the process of the country's self-denunciation that had begun would not be halted and that legality, whatever the final outcome and agreement on the future, would no longer be the point of departure.

Regardless of the extent to which those presentiments of evil destiny were present in me, I could not abandon the fight for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. I decided to postpone my decision to resign so long as I could help my country by speaking to people abroad.

So, I decided that I must work as long as I had the strength, to be consistent with myself and with my 40-year career in the foreign service. I felt, and those with whom I talked abroad so indicated to me, that I must stake my personal credibility entirely to obtain the support of the international community and the help which the world offered us if we were to get out of this madness. And that is what I did—my first and overriding priorities in my activity abroad were aimed at stopping the bloodshed and at a reorganization of Yugoslav space in a democratic and peaceful way acceptable to all. I saw that as the only solution if all our nationalities were to be guaranteed a stable and prosperous life together in the future.

The Yugoslav Drama Is Complex

I said on several occasions in international forums—and anyone can check this—that the country's peace and integrity could not be guaranteed without a democratic system and that there could be no democratic transformation unless the integrity of Yugoslav space were preserved.

I have been saying and I have been warning the world that the Yugoslav drama is both complex and has multiple levels. I insisted that it served no purpose to concern oneself with the causes of our crisis and that in this dramatic time it is not so important who began first, but who continued the escalation and when. I have been pointing out that the most essential thing is to break through the charmed circle in which we have been, to halt the grave tragedy that has occurred in the Republic of Croatia, to put an end to the suffering and destruction. I spoke about the great misfortune shared by the Croatian and Serbian peoples who have been living together for centuries, whose homeland this is, and who should live where they are, within the framework of the present borders.

I have remained consistent to those views throughout the entire process of internationalization of our crisis, which many have opposed before arriving today at the conclusion that this is the only way out.

I think it is clear to everyone today that this was our only option, and so accordingly the only correct orientation that could be called upon in the time of raging passions and the immense and unconquerable distrust. Today we see that this is being realized even by those who at one time opposed the very idea of foreign observers: Today they are calling for international forces to act as intermediaries.

I repeat: I felt, and I feel today, that Yugoslavia's survival can be defended only through a transformation that will be based on parliamentary democracy, a market economy, and the rule of law, that it is only in that context that all our nationalities will be able to identify their interests and their future, but also that halting the war is at the same time a precondition for that to occur.

The Federation will obviously have to be abandoned as a form of life together. However, until a new and legitimate solution is found for the restructuring of Yugoslav space, the Federation as such is the only legitimate entity. That same Federation has several times been challenged and shaken up, there have been assaults aimed at tearing it down. For all its shortcomings, this FEC has remained the only institution that has reflected the Federation.

The Legitimacy and Credibility of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces Have Been Destroyed

However, now we have arrived at one of the final acts, if not the last act, of destruction of the Yugoslav Federation. That act was signified by the speech of Branko Kostic, vice president of the Presidency, and the decision adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces consisting of two republics. What is more, this event calls the legitimacy of the Federation into question, and thereby also officially places the problem of Yugoslavia's international statehood on the agenda.

Of course, the event of which I speak in no case relieves of responsibility, and still less does it justify the behavior of Mesic, the Presidency's president, and its members Drnovsek, Tupurkovski, and Bogicevic.

I think that the move that was made in the Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly has the following consequences:

First, this method of operation, in which what amounts to a third of the delegates adopt "sovereign decisions," destroys the legitimacy of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, which, because it was made up on the basis of multiparty elections, did have real credibility in the world. You, yourself can imagine what the world now thinks about that Chamber.

Second, with this initiative the four members of the Presidency have definitively and irrecoverably completed the job of breaking up the country, a job which others, if we are to be objective, began much earlier. As a practical matter, this has placed before the international community the open question of who is today the holder of Yugoslavia's sovereignty.

Third, this kind of political technology has in fact eliminated the government which up to now, for all its shortcomings, has represented all parts of Yugoslavia except Slovenia. It was as such that that government was in fact accepted in the world.

Fourth, this move has also placed our diplomacy, which has in its way also been expressing Yugoslavia's international statehood, in self-isolation, and the possibility cannot be precluded that the question of who it represents will very soon be asked in the world.

So, when all these four consequences are added up, we can see how the Federation is being eliminated once and for all from domestic and international life.

Moral Responsibility of the FEC

This is happening at a time when it is necessary to correct in the Hague Conference one of the key mistakes that has been made from the very beginning of the effort to design Yugoslavia's new arrangement. I am referring, that is, to the fact that the Hague proposals do not take the reality of Yugoslavia's existence as their point of departure.

I have been persistent in the view that it is not possible to start from what is called the "zero base," but rather the point of departure must be the reality that Yugoslavia, with all its contradictions, its enormous difficulties, and indeed even its war, does exist. I have also advocated the view that on the basis of that reality we can arrive at a new community—an alliance of sovereign republics—by peaceful and democratic means. The evidence of this is in the five speeches which I delivered there and the many notes from meetings I have had with foreign ministers and other factors at the conference. Those are documents and facts which cannot be refuted merely by making sweeping observations such as those used by Vice President Branko Kostic.

Further, everything that has happened occurred at a time when it was necessary to preserve the international statehood and continuity of the Yugoslav community. I do not know how that will be possible after this, but, judging by the recommendation that has been sent to me through a public declaration by four members of the SFRY Presidency, this should no longer be my concern and responsibility.

Whether someone has done all this intentionally or it all occurred spontaneously and unconsciously, the fact remains that this most recent move could not have been better designed to suit those who assert, and have been asserting for a long time, that Yugoslavia no longer exists.

It is obvious to us all that the battle of this FEC for reform has been lost. We were on the very threshold of entering the Council of Europe, of full-fledged membership in the OECD, the most promising candidate for association with the EC, and on the verge of obtaining substantial support. All those doors have been closed. And we know why.

In Spite of Everything—Faithful to the "Credo" of My Life

However, as a member of this body, I feel a need to say that I do not feel that the main causes of the failure of the entire reform program lay in our effort, in spite of the lapses we may have had, moves that were awkward or not fully stated, or the inappropriate solutions we sometimes arrived at.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, given the environment that has been created, the FEC should have raised the issue of its survival and work much earlier. I pointed this out specifically in the meeting that followed the expanded meeting of the SFRY Presidency, when the proposed work program of the Federal Government in the transitional period failed to pass.

You also know that on several occasions I have raised the issue of our moral responsibility and of the purposiveness of our further survival and work in a situation when we were unable to do anything to put out the fire of war in the country. I am personally deeply pained and hurt by the attack made on my personal integrity and honor.

Challenging my Yugoslav orientation can never hurt me to such an extent, because I know that the evidence on who is really destroying Yugoslavia is more than clear.

You know that during the entire time I have been in this FEC I have openly expressed my views and always acted from the positions of defending Yugoslavia's independence, dignity, and reputation. I considered that to be my basic task. I have tried to give our diplomacy maximum presence in all the democratic developments in the world. After all, I felt that those supreme democratic achievements are an incentive for us and an obligation on the domestic scene. Accordingly, I came out in favor of the rights of man and of all the ethnic communities on the soil of Yugoslavia.

I wanted to tell you all that I felt great personal and professional confidence in those who make up this FEC. I place the highest value on the openness of my colleagues. At this moment, I can only say that perhaps I value more than anything those with whom I most frequently did not agree, but who have remained consistent in their views.

I am sorry that at the end of my effort I have lived to see some people embarking on other ships at the last moment and elbowing and kicking those who have remained consistent.

Whatever may have been someone's political needs of the moment, whatever the insinuations and accusations that have therefore been loaded on my back, I remain loyal to myself and to my "credo." I am a Croat by nationality, a democrat and Yugoslav by vocation, and a resident of Belgrade. All of that is my choice, and I will not renounce it.

JNA Leadership Decisions Criticized

92BA0127D Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 91 p 21

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "List of Mistakes"]

[Text] The essence of the Yugoslav drama might be described as an action of people who demolished the "theater" when all they wanted was to change the "decor." But in that action there are true tragedians, extras, and comic types. That is why it is difficult even today to determine the character of the present roles of Generals Kadijevic, Adzic, and Brovet, who began their career as doormen and firemen in the "theater," and now, in this final act, have climbed onto the stage with all the consequences for them and for us. That is, they have too much on their hands, given the amateurism they have displayed on several occasions, for anyone to sleep peacefully.

Let us start as usual in the north: Kadijevic concluded a truce with the Slovenes, which in political terms was wise, but by soldiers' standards represents nothing outside the repertoire of weakness, powerlessness, and unprofessionalism. We are referring to the fact that Jansa allowed the return of 3,000 Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] soldiers remaining beneath the Alps provided they go back "naked and barefoot," that is, that all the heavy equipment remain frozen until the final distribution of assets of what once were the states of Yugoslavia. In other words, Kadijevic is admitting that he is unable, by fighting or by force, if you like, to save the 100 or so tanks and personnel carriers and even to "pull the ears" of his counterpart Jansa any more now than he could before. It is an irony of the highest order that that same Jansa was at one time arrested by the generals for having written about their incompetence (he seems to have been right), and now they are leaving him in peace even though he has hijacked all those tanks and equipment worth about $500 million!?

The phrase "until the distribution of assets" also shows that Serbia's calculation will not be realized to the effect that Kadijevic, in return for "room and board" which Serbia would provide to the entire officer corps, their families, and pensioners, in addition to meeting everyday expenses (even if with new 1,000-dinar notes from the printing plant on Topcider—right across the way from the Guards division), would see to it that a maximum number of heavy armament, airplanes, artillery, tanks, ships, and missiles would pass over into Serbian hands. The final distribution of assets which is now mentioned signifies that Kadijevic is aware in what direction future events will go and that he personally, along with the assumed arbitration of a European commission for distribution of the assets, will share out everything he has—in equal parts—to the independent and self-sufficient states.

Even Kadijevic's decision to remove the Red Star in the middle of the war, when such decisions are rarely made (and this one is at least half a year late), shows that the top leadership of the Army is still wandering and reacting like a blind man only when it bumps into the lintel of a door leading nowhere. The Slovenes and the Croats have overnight pulled from the drawers exceptionally designed insignia, emblems, crests, and flags, while this week the top leadership of the Army, to replace the ideologically dead stars, is offering insignia which some half-trained designer left over from the last century devised to be done by hand, and all the other decisions of the collegium of generals have been "designed" in the same way.

If you carefully read Kadijevic's last speech, then you will observe with absolute certainty that a general mobilization is right now being prepared for young Serbs and young Montenegrins. It is likely that in that situation the generals cannot do without replenishing the thinning ranks, because it is estimated that only half of the 180,000 regular soldiers under arms still remain. But the problem lies elsewhere: Kadijevic believes that with "large numbers," by pulling together the entire Serb population, they can patch up the mistakes in strategy, tactics, and professional muddles of our glorious officer caste, whose honor is today being rescued in peacetime by deprecated noncommissioned officers and officers

sent away to small garrisons and mountains. Kadijevic's army, subjected to the mildest expert consultations, spits out as a diagnosis only one assessment—"clinical death"). A number of impermissible oversights will brand forever the trio of top generals: the erroneous conviction that the Slovenes will not fire on the recruits sent in tanks on a stroll to the border; the erroneous conviction that blocking the garrisons will not be effective; the erroneous conviction that the same formula will not be repeated in Croatia; the erroneous conviction that the Army will not experience ethnic disintegration in spite of the universal belief that new independent states are being created on the rains of Yugoslavia; the erroneous conviction that isolated units will have the forces to break out of the Croatian cities; the erroneous conviction that mobilization represents nothing more than assembling "cannon fodder" and sending it to the front, not training and psychological preparation for everything that awaits those people there; the erroneous assessment that the Armed Forces of Croatia will soon break down in the face of the regular Army; the erroneous orders which put 100 or so tanks, howitzers, cannons, missiles, mortars, and personnel carriers in Tudjman's hands and made his army, at least on the central battlefield, the equal of the powerful regular units; the erroneous method of continuous futile threats of "using ultimate weapons," which, incidentally, do not even exist, because, aside from the surface-to-surface missiles with conventional warheads, everything they have has been used; the erroneous conviction that the Army will not have problems in Bosnia and Macedonia, and finally, the erroneous belief that young Serbian lads, at a time when trust in the top Army leadership has been utterly lost, will consent without any question to make the "final sacrifice" on behalf of the projection of a "new Yugoslavia."

What is the list of mistakes and what is the price paid for that list? What is going to happen if in a few days fronts actually do open up in Kosovo, Sanjak, if the Army is driven out of Macedonia, and if Bosnia explodes? We must frankly say that the Serbian leadership, in counting on Kadijevic, had a quite different outcome and different consequences in mind. This way, the lack of a consensus concerning the objectives of the war shared by the "top leadership" and the "rank and file," and the loss of belief in the ability of the generals, can hardly constitute the basis for reducing the price of the war. The horrible ineffectiveness of the system for caring for the wounded, the leaving behind of the dead, and the forgetting of those who were captured demonstrate that the generals have retained that same old attitude toward human lives, which are always cheap except for theirs.

Because of the incompetence of the generals even when the soldiers were being massacred, the world public has been given the impression that the Army is a tank that blundered into a glass shop, and the entire Yugoslav entanglement has resulted from the use of force to gain political ends. Not in the least! The domestic tragedy began as a fatal lack of force, and that led to the escalation of violence. The Army needs radical internal surgery; after all, why should that archaic philosophy and that ossified structure survive when there is nothing left from its era? Neither the ideology nor the state which the uniforms personified.

Slovenia

Republic Explains Stance in Reply to Carrington

LD2911174191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1511 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 29 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's Foreign Ministry, asked by Lord Carrington to clarify its stands, answered today that all the constituent republics should be legal heirs to Yugoslavia.

In its letter, the Slovenian Ministry also reasserted that Yugoslavia's interrepublican boundaries are state borders, not administrative borders, because they are "Elder, or at least as old as Yugoslavia's external borders, and, moreover, they have been reaffirmed by history."

The interrepublican boundaries in Yugoslavia have never been endorsed in any international treaties. They result from an ad hoc accord among the Yugoslav communist leadership. The internal boundaries were drawn towards the end of World War II, and then confirmed in 1974.

The Slovenian Ministry asserts that the process of Yugoslavia's disintegration has been started by the Republic of Serbia's launching unilateral steps. The steps first made the other republics urge an overhaul of the federation (Slovenia's breakaway by agreement), and then proclaim sovereignty (Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina).

Croatia

Tudjman Announces Free Elections After War

LD3011154191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at Zagreb's Police Academy on 30 November—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Policemen and workers of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, ladies and gentlemen, [word indistinct]. As Internal Affairs Minister Vekic said, this change of uniform is of symbolic significance. The forces of internal affairs were emerging from the old regime, in their old unifoms, a random array of uniforms which we received or acquired in all different ways. We are approaching a stage when we should become a totally new police force in every respect, including uniforms. It is very easy, however, to change a uniform. Of course, there are also difficulties in this respect; financial, manufacturing difficulties, etc. Changing a uniform is nevertheless a relatively easy job. It is much harder to change

the spirit of a police force. We started to change it, and in many respects we have achieved great successes, but this task to turn our police force into a new force of democratic Croatia in every respect, we have yet to carry out.

What I am asking of you is that you should always bear in mind that you are the most responsible representatives of the Croatian power of the new democratic Croatia, in contact both with the citizens of our republic and all other ones who come to the Republic of Croatia for any reason. Both our citizens and people from abroad will judge Croatia according to your behavior, manners, and your attitude to each individual. You should thus always bear this in mind. [passage omitted]

We have ordered absolute absence of party activities in the police and military ranks. There can also be no other members of any armed formations which—under slogans of [word indistinct] ideologies—wish to create anarchy, and not just (create) anarchy, but also call into question Croatia's international reputation and even international recognition. [passage omitted]

No democratic country in the world can tolerate any paramilitary illegal armed formations, let alone those who are send to destroy the constitutional and legal system. One of your first duties in today's conditions—jointly with the military police—is to purge our streets, houses, hotels, and institutions from any phenomena concerning these individuals and these armed groups which still exist, which commit all sorts of crimes, break into houses of our people at night, houses of our citizens, present themselves as members of the authorities, but who are in fact destroying not just the reputation of the authorities, but wishing to destroy the constitutional and legal system.

Police forces, the Internal Affairs Ministry, should not get involved in any political programs or political campaigns launched by any party. Let the political parties talk and discuss whatever they like. Let them quibble, let them speculate. The people voiced their opinion about this kind of people at the elections. The people will again voice their opinion. We will call free elections the moment we get out of this war. The people will say what they think about the programs, about the wisdom and responsibility—as well as irresponsibility—of all kinds of petty politicians.

It is not your concern to be preoccupied with them. It is your duty, though, as I have said, to prevent any presence of armed formations or armed individuals who do not belong to your ranks, police ranks, or to the ranks of the regular Croatian Army and the National Guard.

I think that there are still hard times ahead of us in this period. The enemies, the aggressors of Croatia, will attempt to take advantage in these final days of the run-up to the involvement of the UN peacekeeping force and inflict blows on us, not only on the front line but also, as you workers of the Ministry for Internal Affairs know, by undermining activities; using their fifth column, and by all those subversive activities in the course of which they intend to undermine the homogeneity and unity of Croatia and to behead Croatia. This does not come just from those ranks, the ranks of Greater Serbian hegemony and the remnants of the Yugoslav communist army, but also from all kinds of their allies who oppose an autonomous and sovereign Croatia.

It is your task to prevent this from taking place. It is also your task, as I said, to concentrate on your routine work, on your regular activities. Perhaps, in some places you will still have to take part in combat operations, something our police forces have been doing throughout this war of defense. After all, it was you, the police forces, who provided an unarmed Croatia with its defense against Greater Serbian imperialism and the attempts to restore communism. We did not have any other force. Even at this moment, in some places your comrades on the front line are indispensible. Until we finish this war you will continue to face up to this task.

But the time has come for you to concentrate resolutely on your fundamental duties: maintaining public peace and order, providing security, as I said, for our citizens' life and work. You are also getting new duties—you are taking over border control services. In this area, too, it is very important that you are up to the job. I do not want repeat myself as I said, but this is also the first contact for both foreigners and our people upon arrival in Croatia, so they can see who represents this Croatia at its entrance. [passage omitted]

I have already said—your duty lies in the preservation of the legal system, the struggle against crime, the regulation of traffic, and all other things which make up everyday life and in which your police forces and administrative services must take part. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Sends Ministers To Supervise Dubrovnik

LD0112144391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 1 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today decided to immediately despatch three ministers to the Middle Dalmatia area. Their seat will be Dubrovnik "where they will represent the government and crisis headquarters, coordinate activities of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia, participate in establishing and maintaining contacts with international organizations and institutions, take part in negotiations with Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] commands and units about establishing and maintaining a cease-fire, and organize the return of the populations who have temporarily fled the war-stricken areas." According to this decision, Ivan Cifric, environment, housing, and communal services minister, Maritime Traffic Minister Davorin Rudolf, and Trade Minister Petar Kriste, "are designated representatives of the Government and crisis headquarters of the Republic of Croatia for the municipalities of Dubrovnik, Korcula, Lastovo, Ploce, and

Metkovic." According to a statement about this decision, "the representatives of the Government and crisis headquarters of the Republic of Croatia are dutybound to establish and maintain contact with the command of the Croatian armed forces who operate in the area that the representatives are in charge."

Tudjman Denies Reports on Peace Force

LD2911172391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The Croatian president's office today denied claims by the ZDF and BBC that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has acceded to the positioning of a peace force along the combat line. In the negotiations so far with UN representatives, the mandate of the peace force has been clearly set out. It includes the full withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from all areas in Croatia, the disarmament and withdrawal of paramilitary forces from Croatia's territory and patrols carried out by Croatian police under UN supervision, the establishment of the constitutional and legal order of the Croatian state, and the normalization of life, as well as the restoration of trust in these areas, the denial states.

The office also adds that President Tudjman explained the mandate of the peace force in detail in his interview last night with Croatian television. Among other things, he said: We have agreed that peace forces should be sent to Croatia's borders, as well as to the crisis areas where fighting is going on, since they have no other task but to facilitate the establishment of the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia.

Greguric Claims Serbian Support for Opposition

LD2711171891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, Nov 27 (TANJUG)—Croatian Premier Franjo Greguric has accused Serbia of trying to weaken the authorities in Croatia by supporting the armed wing of the Croatian Opposition Party of Law (HSP) with propaganda and material.

The accusation was made in Greguric's interview published by the Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG today. However, it was not corroborated by any proofs.

HSP leader Dobroslav Paraga was arrested by Croatian authorities on Saturday [23 November] for "attempting to overthrow the legally elected authorities by force" and for "setting up an armed military formation which has committed a number of criminal offences."

Over the next ten days Croatian officials will seek "support abroad for the international recognition of Croatia and will insist on the efficacious international measures for stopping the bloody fighting on Croatian territory," said Greguric.

He praised Hungary for doing much in the diplomatic field for the international recognition of Croatia, as it was "unable to take such a step by itself."

Greguric met with Prime Minister Joszef Antall on Monday [25 November] during a one-day visit to Hungary.

Opposition Demands Guarantees of UN Forces

LD2911214591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The coordination of the opposition parliamentary parties of Croatia, with the exception of the Croatian Party of Justice, has today proposed that the parliament of the Republic of Croatia send a demand to The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia, the EC Council of Ministers, and the UN Security Council that they should guarantee that once the peacekeeping forces arrive, the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units will withdraw from the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia and that other enemy armed formations will be disarmed. At the same time, according to the statement, the Croatian opposition proposes that firm and clear guarantees should be demanded for the full sovereignty and the safeguarding of the constitutional borders of the Republic of Croatia, and that all national communities on the territory of the formal Yugoslavia should be enabled and guaranteed the same position which the Republic of Croatia makes possible and guarantees for the national communities on its territory.

Today's statement by the leadership of the Croat Democratic Party says:

We consider that it is quite wrong to negotiate the departure of the Serbs of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of the independent democratic state of Croatia, and that no organ of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia can explain how it is that the Army is taking away heavy weapons and ammunition, as well as mobile armored vehicles from its bases to Bosnia-Hercegovina, from where it is organizing new and even stronger attacks against the Republic of Croatia, the armed forces, and the Croatian people.

We demand that the Croatian defense is organized much faster and with greater efficiency and responsibility, that the next session of the Croatian Parliament examines the work of the Ministry of Defense, and that a special parliamentary commission is set up to establish the responsibility for the fall of Vukovar and other defeats on the Croatian battlefields.

Only by radical cadre and organizational changes, and a complete change in the organization of the Ministry of Defense and the command of the Croatian army, as well as by subordinating the civilian industry to the production for military needs, can Croatia defeat the Serbo-Communist and Chetnik military force.

HSP To Oppose UN Peacekeeping Forces

LD0112152691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] At the upcoming session of the Croatian Assembly we will demand through our deputies that the arrest of Dobroslav Parage be placed on the agenda. We will also advocate that the election of judges to the Constitutional Court be postponed and oppose the sending in of the blue helmets [UN peacekeeping forces] and the adoption of the law on ethnic communities and minorities, Ante Dzapic, the vice president of the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP], said today at a news conference.

In recent days, he added, dozens of HSP armed volunteers have been remanded only to be released once it was established they belonged to units of the Croatian army. It has not been decided yet whether Dobroslav Paraga will be released on bail during the investigation, Djapic said and added that he hoped that he would be released.

List Discrepancies Halt Zagreb Prisoner Exchange

LD2811175491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] The negotiations on an exchange of prisoners in Zagreb's Hotel I [Intercontinental] have been adjourned until tomorrow, when it is expected that the Army will present a new up-to-date list of prisoners, Stjepan Adanic, assistant minister of defense and the representative of the Croatian side in the negotiations, stated. He added that the International Red Cross has examined the list of prisoners presented yesterday by the Army and established that it has been drawn up in contravention of the norms of the Geneva Convention on the procedure to be adopted with POWs.

According to Adanic, the list is not up-to-date, the whole of Vukovar is not included, and the list includes those who should have been released a long time ago—civilians, including children 14 years old, and the elderly.

According to the list of the Croatian side, the Yugoslav Army has detained 11,300 civilians, 347 injured and sick, 620 soldiers, and 156 medical personnel from Vukovar. Adanic stated that because civilians have been detained and attempts have been made to manipulate them, a protest has been sent to the International Red Cross, and this international humanitarian organization is demanding that the civilians be released.

The military leadership in Belgrade is not permitting representatives of the International Red Cross stationed in Belgrade to enter the camps where the civilian prisoners are being accommodated, so the Croatian side has no reports about them, Stjepan Adanic told journalists.

Government Approves Minority Rights Bill

LD3011160291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1447 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 30 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Government yesterday approved the text of a constitutional bill on "rights and freedoms of man and on rights of national or ethnic communities or minorities", as the Information Ministry of this Yugoslav republic announced today.

The bill, which the people have already named the "law on Serbs", is one of the conditions the Western countries have set Croatia if it wants them to recognize its independence. Croatia adopted a unilateral decision on its sovereignty in late June.

The Croatian parliament is to discuss the bill next week, as was announced today.

The Information Ministry announcement specifies that Croatia was adopting the document "because of its democratic and European orientation, not under pressure from any world factors, although the documents of The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia include a request for such a law".

The ministry announced that representatives of Croatian communes, in which Serbs make up the majority, did not take part in the debate on the bill, but that a "number of eminent Serbs" have been consulted. It named only one of them.

According to the bill, the law on minorities will be enacted "after the restoration of total and permanent peace on the whole territory of Croatia as defined in the 1974 constitution of former Yugoslavia".

This territory includes the war-stricken parts of Croatia where Serbs make up the majority of the population.

As a condition for the enactment of the bill, the Ministry of Information announcement sets out the holding of "internationally- monitored free, multi-party elections" in "communes with a special position", practically, in communes where the Serbs are in the majority.

Krajina Would Restrict UN Troops to Borders

AU3011175691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Report by Danko Peric]

[Text] The government of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Krajina has again confirmed its position regarding engagement of the UN peacekeeping forces, which is the same as the position taken by the Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region. This is stated in the statement on today's session of the SAO Krajina Government.

The government remains firm on the position that it will neither permit disarmament of the Krajina armed forces

nor agree that the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] should withdraw from the territory of SAO Krajina.

The placement of UN forces on the line separating SAO Krajina from the Republic of Croatia is acceptable only if these forces are positioned there to stop the aggression of Croatian armed forces against Krajina. The statement also says: Concerning SAO Krajina, the UN forces can be positioned on the dividing line, that is to say, on the (?green) belt between Croatia and Krajina and on the territory controlled by the Croatian authorities from Zagreb.

We learn from the same statement that on the basis of SAO Krajina Assembly operating procedures, the government adopted (?eight) laws, including measures concerning defense, public offices, and public companies. All of these laws will be sent to the Assembly for approval.

New Commander of Krajina Defense Appointed

LD3011174291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Knin, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—Following consultations in the Krajina Defense Ministry and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Colonel Radolsav Maksic has been appointed commander of the Krajina Territorial Defense by decree of the president of the Krajina Government, Milan Babic.

The former commander, Lieutenant Colonel General Ilija Djujic, retired, was relieved from the post at his personal request for health reasons.

Serbia

Jovanovic Comments on UN Troops, Talks, Hungary

LD3011225391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2108 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Subotica, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—Speaking today in Subotica, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that the arrival of the UN peacekeeping forces is expected near the middle of December.

This is still to be discussed by Croatia, the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], and Serbia as a politically involved factor, Jovanovic said. He added that in regard to their deployment, the peacekeeping forces would replace the JNA in protecting the population that has been exposed to genocide. The forces will most likely be deployed heavily in such areas.

"Under the influence of Germany and its satellites Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and unfortunately also Italy, the EC countries have turned the right to good offices, delegated to them by the CSCE and the United Nations, into pressure and threats, supporting only the patrons of those who say that Yugoslavia no longer exists and who are doing everything to divide it into small states liable to manipulation and subordination to the interests of those who are stronger."

"The opinion in some countries that Serbia is bent on hegemony is simply fraudulent and represents an attempt by the secessionist republics and their constant helpers to completely destroy Yugoslavia and extinguish the idea of its statehood. However, this will not happen. Yugoslavia will exist and the peoples remaining in it will feel that it is their country."

Jovanovic also expressed the conviction that The Hague conference will continue, "but this time with different views on the Yugoslav crisis, because the right to secession cannot be stronger than the right to the love of one's country."

The relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary, and especially between Serbia and Hungary, were also touched upon at the meeting. Jovanovic said that these relations "have gone and are going through a period of crisis due to the involvement by Hungary with kalashnikovs in the affair, its interference into some of our internal affairs, its direct support for the secessionist republics, and so on."

"We had no intention of raising these questions in the CSCE. I think that this is right. On several occasions we have received assurances from the Hungarian side that it will do everything possible to improve the present relations... [Tanjug punctuation] With the cessation of the war in Croatia and with the closure of the refugee camps—and those for the training of mercenaries in Hungary—one can realistically expect that the relations between the two countries, especially between our republic and Hungary, will improve," Jovanovic concluded.

National Assembly Criticizes Bundestag Resolution

LD2711122491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Serbian National Assembly adopted a resolution in response to an identical act adopted on 16 November by the German Bundestag concerning the situation in Yugoslavia.

It was said during the debate that the Bundestag resolution was a flagrant attack on the constitutions of the Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia and that the claim that the crisis in Yugoslavia was triggered by Serbia's introduction of constitutional authority over Kosovo and Vojvodina was completely incorrect.

In the delegates' view, the Bundestag resolution goes beyond the framework of international law and is an attack on the internal system of the Republic of Serbia.

Kosovars Celebrate Albanian Holiday 28 Nov

AU2911154191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The national holiday in Kosovo and Metohija is hardly different from normal weekends. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports from Pristina:

[Begin Mihajlovic recording] Only hoisted flags and closed shops in Kosovo and Metohija indicate that it is the Republic Day today. The holiday is not being marked with appropriate ceremonies—with the opening or the commencement of work on new plants—like in the past.

Pristina streets are almost empty. There are only a few more guests in the Brezovica tourist center than during normal weekends. However, this holiday is not spared political events, either.

At a regular news conference, Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, stated that he will soon ask the CSCE to recognize the independent Republic of Kosovo after it recognizes Slovenia and Croatia. Albanians do not recognize a truncated Yugoslavia, Rugova said.

Albanian politicians are totally ignoring 29 November. They celebrated 28 November, the day of the Republic of Albania. Yesterday's press was brimming with articles on Albania's national holiday, and therefore Pristina authorities banned ZERI and sentenced the paper's editor in chief, Blerim Salja, to 60 days in prison. Representatives of several Albanian parties and associations protested against the court's decision at the news conference today. They hold the view that the authorities do not have the right to ban a paper whose front page contains a two-headed eagle. Its articles are openly promoting the ideas of Albanian separatists. [end recording]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

SDA Ends 3-Day Congress; Izetbegovic Reelected

AU0212102191 Pristina TVP Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] The three-day congress of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] ended in Sarajevo this evening. Here is a report on this congress by our colleague Rada Djokic.

[Begin Djokic recording] This evening the delegates adopted congress documents and reelected Alija Izetbegovic president of the party with a convincing majority. However, the central person at the congress was Fikret Abdic. Although two days before the congress the vice president of the SDA, Muhamed Cengic, publicly stated that everyone in the party thinks like the party president Izetbegovic, Fikret Abdic showed that he thinks quite differently.

Abdic disagreed with nepotism in the party leadership and with rigged elections in some communes. He was also against Alija Izetbegovic simultaneously holding the posts of the president of the party and the republic. Abdic attaches prime importance to the economy, stressing that history will show that he was right. Some delegates detected in Abdic's words his wish to become the leader, and replied to him loudly and clearly that the SDA will never elect a former communist as their leader.

He was reproached for not showing any interest as a member of the Central Committee in the suffering of the Muslim people in 1983. There were also some objections relating to more recent times. Abdic was reproached for not saying anything in the assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina recently, when the entire Muslim nation impatiently waited for the proclamation of a sovereign Bosnia- Hercegovina. One delegate said that Fikret behaved as a pharaoh, because he received the majority of votes in the elections, significantly more than even Alija Izetbegovic.

Defending Abdic, Muhamed Cengic said that during elections the people knew that Fikret Abdic was a member of the Central Committee. This defense appeared to Abdic as a provocation and he came to the rostrum for the umpteenth time and said: I am a former communist, and I am proud of my past. Therefore, I do not allow anyone to justify my past or the results that I have achieved.

The dispute obviously also occurred because of the strategy for economic development. It is quite clear that Fikret Abdic is giving priority to his [commune of] Velika Kladusa, while Izetbegovic to the Zenica region, which was obvious from his introductory speech.

In his closing speech, Alija Izetbegovic said that the congress was characterized by tolerance. Nevertheless, the public expected that the SDA congress will more decidedly define that status of this republic and that it will take a clearer stand on Bosnia-Hercegovina on whose territory there is the greatest concentration of military power in Europe, as Alija Izetbegovic said on the first day of the congress. [end recording]

Kljuic Speaks on Croatian Democratic Communities

92BA0158B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by D. Kozar: "Press Conference of the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the "Croatian Community of the Sava Valley in Bosnia" was formed on 12 November, and the "Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia" was established on 18 November. Those were the acts, it was stated yesterday in the regular press conference of the HDZB-H [Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina], of the self-organization

of the Croatian nationality in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a specific answer to the formation of the Serbian autonomous oblasts.

Regions as a Warning

Speaking about establishment of "Croatian communities of opstinas" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Stjepan Kljuic, president of the HDZB-H, said:

"The establishment of these communities of Croatian opstinas on the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina has the significance of a warning, and this is not yet in the phase of execution. This is a sign of belonging to Bosnia-Hercegovina, within the framework of its sovereignty. These communities of opstinas will respect the democratically elected government of Bosnia-Hercegovina so long as the independence of Bosnia and Hercegovina persists relative to the former or any future Yugoslavia. We will also abide by all decisions made by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly and Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to the documents establishing the communities of Croatian opstinas in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which were distributed yesterday to journalists, the "Croatian Community of the Sava Valley in Bosnia" will consist of eight opstinas: Bosanski Brod, Odzak, Modrica, Orasje, Derventa, Bosanski Samac, Gradacac, and Brcko, and there will be 30 opstinas in the "Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia": Jajce, Kresevo, Busovaca, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Travnik, Kiseljak, Fojnica, Skender-Vakuf (Dobretici), Kakanj, Vares, Kotor-Varos, Tomislavgrad, Livno, Kupres, Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf, Prozor, Konjic, Jablanica, Posusje, Mostar, Siroki Brijeg, Grude, Ljubuski, Citluk, Capljina, Neum, Stolac, and Trebinje (Ravno).

These communities of opstinas, on the basis of their founding decisions, are political, cultural, economic, and territorial entities. The seat of the "Croatian Community of the Sava Valley in Bosnia" is in Bosanski Brod, and that of the "Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia" in Mostar. The purpose of these communities, the documents on their establishment state, is the "fight for democracy, peace, and respect for historical, ethnic, and cultural rights and legal methods."

No Truncated Solutions

Stjepan Kljuic said that the HDZB-H does not accept the way in which the truncated SFRY Presidency and incomplete Yugoslav Assembly want to recall Ante Markovic, chairman of the Federal Executive Council. He said that this demand, proclaimed by Branko Kostic, is backed by only two republics—Serbia and Montenegro, and that it cannot be legitimate. Kljuic went on to say: "We in Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted a decision even earlier not to recognize any decision of the four-member SFRY Presidency, much less the truncated bodies of the former Federal Assembly and the former Federal State. We expect that the outcome of events in The Hague and the measures taken by the international community will regulate that and what is represented as the main problem. No new prime minister can be elected who will get his mandate from Kostic."

As for the coming of UN forces to Yugoslavia, Kljuic said that the HDZB-H welcomes this and that the soldiers in blue helmets should be deployed on the borders of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro. He said the "army of the United Nations should guarantee peace in those areas until final resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, but a final cease-fire is a precondition for all that."

In Kljuic's opinion, "a cease-fire does not suit those who are carrying out a campaign of conquest in Croatia, and I can say that the Republic of Croatia does not want war, that it cannot support this war any longer, especially because certain cities have been destroyed, and some are completely surrounded."

"It is obvious," Kljuic remarked, "that the Army wants to take the most favorable possible positions before the negotiations that will follow. Anyone who knows anything about military tactics can see that."

The War Has Put a Stop to Foreign Capital

Asked how much the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina has achieved in the past year, since the election, and if the preelection plans had been carried out, Stjepan Kljuic said that not enough had been done and went on: "It has been difficult to carry out the new policy with the old structure, and we have not yet been able to get rid of what the old system passed down to us. On the other hand, however, the military conflicts have prevented execution of the economic program, and foreign partners have been unable to invest in projects in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and finally, how can the program be carried out when Bosnia-Hercegovina is blockaded and occupied by the Yugoslav People's Army?"

Miro Lasic believes that the partnership of the ethnic parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina has not yet experienced complete collapse and that it is only a question of misunderstandings, and that the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina is still operative in spite of everything. Lasic criticized polltakers from the School of Political Science who instead of asking if people were satisfied with the new government should have asked only those who voted for the ethnic parties in November 1990.

Lasic informed the newsmen that he had a report from one refugee that on Monday a Chetnik formation carried out a massacre of 18 inhabitants of the village Kijev Do near Trebinje. All those slaughtered were of Croatian nationality. He appealed to civilian and military authorities to conduct a joint inquiry and make a report to the public.

Against War Declarations

As for the statement by Gojko Susak, Croatian minister for national defense, to the effect that the armed conflicts

will soon carry over into western Hercegovina, Jerko Doko, his counterpart in Bosnia-Hercegovina, reacted yesterday. He said that he could not go into various statements, that he did not wish to comment on one made by Susak either, but he could say that he was against all threats of war, because nothing is achieved in that way; accordingly, he said, "emphasis on war is not acceptable regardless of what quarter it comes from." Reacting to being asked for a comment concerning this statement of Susak's, which was given to LE MONDE, Doko asked: "Why did no one request a comment from Miodrag Simovic, deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, concerning certain statements made by Dr. Budimir Kosutic, deputy prime minister of Serbia, on the program 'Club '91,' broadcast over TV Sarajevo?"

Ivan Markesic, M.A., secretary of the HDZB-H, informed newsmen that Stjepan Kljuic would be making an official visit to Austria beginning on 20 November and that together with Resad Bektic, Bosnia-Hercegovina minister for the economy, he would be conducting talks on economic cooperation and informing his hosts about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Macedonia

Gligorov Calls For International Recognition

LD0212160991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Denko Maleski, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of Macedonia, told journalists today that Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov sent a letter to the heads of state and government of all the countries in the world requesting recognition of the independence of the Macedonian state.

"An official recognition will enable the Macedonian state to continue to have relations with other countries on the basis of sincere and stable foundations. This will give a clear signal which will discourage attempts to change borders by force. It is a sad state of affairs that it is necessary to send this message. We should not, however, close our eyes to this", President Gligorov says, among other things, in his letter.

Speaking at a news conference, Maleski stressed that Macedonia supports Lord Carrington, UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, and the EC in their efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. If a final resolution of the crisis is not reached, we cannot see our future within the framework of Yugoslavia, Maleski said.

He declared that the arrival of the blue helmets would be a strong moral factor, making it more difficult to spread the war operations to other parts of the country, including the opening of the so-called "southern front."

Article Criticizes Activities of Nationalists

92BA0158A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 91 p 7

[By M. Krstic: "Deja Vu"]

[Text] Skopje, 20 Nov—The "VMRO" [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] flags recently run up on the mast without hindrance in front of the Assembly building is only a continuation of a new Macedonian introduction to chaos. The vehement VMRO-ites, carrying out instructions issued from abroad by their "spiritual leader" and honorary president, Dragan Bogdanovski, have already announced a "revolution which cannot be bloodless." These serious threats to the sovereign Macedonian state, which has just been constitutionally established, are undoubtedly also serious warnings that we ask some questions of our own.

If the new Macedonian state represents continuity of the Krusevo Republic in 1903, as the preamble of the new Constitution states, why, then, have the pictures of Nikola Karev, its first president, been taken down, and that in the republic Parliament itself? Certain other "pictures" of the events for the present only remind us of the marches of the fascist phalangists between the two world wars. Following the unsuccessful march on the building of NOVA MAKEDONIJA, the aggressive "VMRO-ites" three days ago forced themselves into the building of Macedonian Radio-TV in spite of the strong security, demanding the resignation of the general director and members of the collegium of that corporation for supposedly pursuing a "bolshevik program." It is not surprising that at the same time they demanded that all personnel of Macedonian Radio-TV whose names end in "ic" be discharged.

There is already a great deal of talk in the citizenry about how the party VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] has already prepared lists of members of all Serbian families in Macedonia and also of declared Yugoslavs, who are also "unfit" and in future will not be able to perform any important job in Macedonian government bodies and agencies, schools, the university....

How is this seen by the Macedonian "government of experts" of N. Kljusev and other statesmen?

In spite of the questions that were specifically put in the last press conference which the Macedonian government held in Skoplje, no position was taken on this either by Prime Minister N. Kljusev, nor by his deputy, B. Ristovski, member of the academy, nor even by M. Trenevski, information minister. Except for one vague statement by Academician Ristovski that "the government condemns certain attempts to destabilize the state and the system," not a single word of condemnation of such assaults has been heard in this case against an institution of the Macedonian news media.

None of this is so very surprising for those who are familiar with Macedonian political conditions, because they are aware of the ideological allegiance of a certain number of ministers in the Macedonian "government of experts."